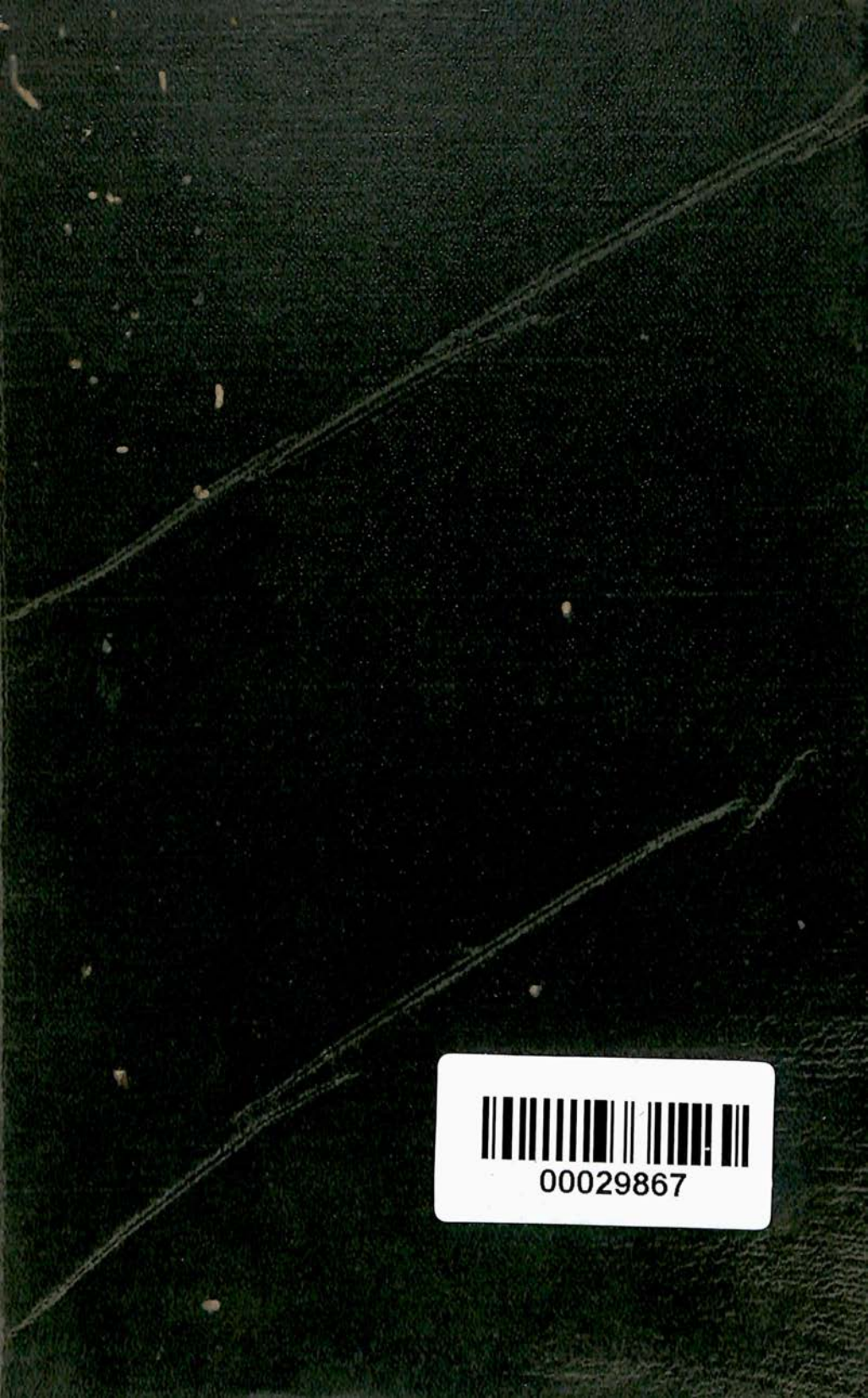
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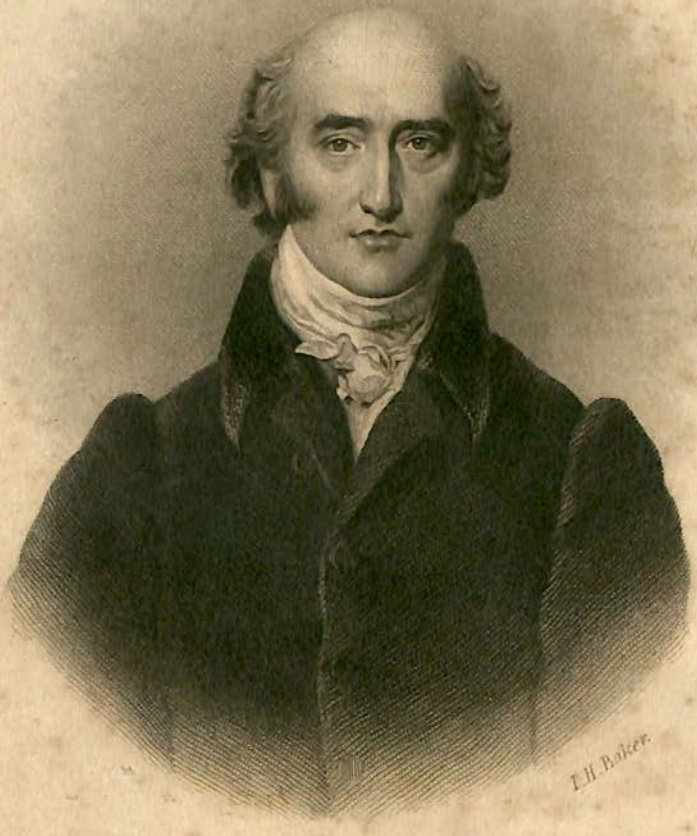

The Rt. Hon. George Canning M.P.

&c. &c.

London. Hurst and Blackett.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT OF GEORGE IV.

1820—1830.

FROM ORIGINAL FAMILY DOCUMENTS.

BY

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS,
K.G.

29867

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE COURT

OF

GEORGE THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

[1823.]

SUPPOSED ARRANGEMENT OF MR. CANNING IN FAVOUR OF MR. HUSKISSON—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM ON CABINET ARRANGEMENTS—OPPOSITION OF CANNING AND THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—THE NEW SOUTH AMERICAN STATES—CONDESCENSION OF THE KING—SERIOUS ILLNESS OF LORD ELDON—THE FRENCH IN SPAIN—THE TITHE ACT—POLITICAL GOSSIP—SPANISH FINANCE—SERIOUS ILLNESS OF THE DUKE OF YORK—THE KING'S PANACEA FOR IRELAND—LEGAL APPOINTMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE representations that were continually being made to the Duke of Buckingham to induce him to strengthen the position of his friends in office by accepting office himself, appear to have had their effect; and the reported change in the Cabinet in favour of Mr. Huskisson was regarded as an opportunity for putting forward the Duke's pretensions to high official employment which ought not to be lost.

The communications of Lord Grenville and Mr. Thomas Grenville have put the reader in possession of their views on the subject; but there were persons in more constant communication with him who had a deep interest at stake in this issue, which his own inclination for more active life made him sometimes more readily favour. Under these circumstances he wrote to the Duke of Wellington, apprising his Grace of his intention to communicate formally with Lord Liverpool his wish to enter the Cabinet, and entering upon some details with respect to an alleged arrangement made by Mr. Canning on joining the Government, which will be suffi-

ciently understood by a perusal of the opening sentences of the Duke's reply.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Woodford, Sept. 23, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have received your letter of the 21st. You may rely upon it that I am not mistaken respecting the facts which I stated to you in my letter of the —— regarding Mr. Huskisson. There is no person who knows better than I do all the circumstances attending Mr. Canning's introduction to the Cabinet; and he certainly made no stipulation or request in favour of any person whatever; nor did he ever consider as an object to himself that Mr. Huskisson should be in the Cabinet.

In respect to yourself my last letter contains the opinion which I formed when I received yours of the ——, which subsequent reflection has confirmed. I am convinced that you will not forward your object by the communication which you propose to make to Lord Liverpool.

Whenever I enter into a case it is with a view to effect some good, and to conciliate parties which the public interest requires should be well together. But I could not charge myself with a communication which must, I am certain, produce irritation, and must end in disappointment.

I will not enter into discussion on other points of your letter, on which, however, I confess that I don't entertain the same opinions that you do.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Mr. Fremantle's next gossiping letter affords many glimpses into Ministerial and Court life. The sub-

sequent communication refers to a serious attack of illness that visited Lord Eldon at this period.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 29, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You are aware, I am sure, of the bitter anger which Lord Maryborough betrays on his new appointment; he says he has been shamefully deceived, and ill-used, and abandoned. He finds Swinley unbearable, and has applied for Cranbourn Lodge, which *I am pretty sure* has been refused him, and he now says he will not and cannot reside at Swinley. The King in his letter to him notifying his appointment, says it is for the purpose of having his good and dear friend in his family, and to reside near him (but this dear friend he would not like quite so near as Cranbourn). This makes the thing even more bitter to Lord Maryborough, for the Ministers have nothing to do with the refusal of Cranbourn. I don't hear, and am very anxious to learn, how the Duke of Wellington takes this matter. The whole arrangement is a complete victory of Canning, to take a friend of the Duke of Wellington's *out*, and place a friend of his own *in* the Cabinet. I conceive that nothing can be more unfriendly than the footing on which the Duke of Wellington and Canning stand; for independent of this measure of Lord Maryborough, the whole foreign diplomacy and policy is carried on without the Duke's intervention, whereas in Lord Londonderry's time not a step, even of the smallest import, was taken without his participation and concurrence.

Lord Liverpool and Canning are now running wild in speculative objects in South America; perhaps they are not wrong in this, for it is much easier to take a decision

upon it now than when the Spanish King shall be restored to his throne. Consuls are named to all the new settlements in South America, and Harvey's commission is named to Mexico. He sails about the 8th in the *Thetis*, for Vera Cruz. In the first place it is a commission consisting of Harvey, Ward, and a Mr. O'Gorman, the two latter not having the power to object to any measure decided by Harvey. He takes out a dormant commission of Minister Plenipotentiary, with power to offer his credentials whenever he thinks proper, and to name Mr. Ward his secretary, and Mr. O'Gorman consul-general. There is also another gentleman who goes out as private secretary, and a medical man named by Harvey. Should he not open his commission, but find it necessary to return, the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary remains to him, and entitles him of course to future employment and the pension. He has promised to keep in mind your request regarding objects of natural history, &c.

I have lately had much intercourse with the King, have dined with them *en famille* three times, and not a day has passed but what he has sent Lord Conyngham or some one of his family to inquire after me. The moment I was able to drive to his door, I of course left my written acknowledgment for these gracious marks of his favour, and the next day he drove over and sat an hour in my drawing-room with Mrs. Fremantle and myself. I should undoubtedly say he was in a very infirm state of health; he complains greatly of rheumatic gout, and walks very lame, but he is out the whole day, driving, riding, or walking, and appears to have a very good appetite, and to be very cheerful. I heard yesterday from Munster, who called upon me having just left him, that he was not so well, and confined to his bed, but at present it rests thus. He is to go on to Windsor and remain on Wednesday. I am very glad to

tell you that *we* are all in great favour with him, as nothing can be more gracious and partial than his expressions about your family.

W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangodwin, Sept. 29, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I begin to be anxious to hear a little of what is going on, both interior and exterior, but I fear that I have no chance of any of my *confrères* once thinking of informing me.

Surely this determination of blood to the head must either remove the seals from the Chancellor, or the Chancellor from the seals. In Lord Grenville's case perfect repose of mind, without employment or occupation whatever, even of amusement, was prescribed, and if this advice be good for anything, it is somewhat incompatible with Lord Eldon's present situation. If Lord Londonderry had been alive I should rejoice at any change, since it must lead to a weakening of Lord Eldon's influence in the Lords, which I think Lord L—— would have turned to good account for "the Catholic question;" but that has gone back to such an incredible degree, and its supporters are now so little in earnest, that I think its opponents may now spare that assistance which so long was their sheet-anchor. Gifford will, I believe, certainly succeed him, and as long as Lord Eldon lives, *at least*, will obey his orders implicitly.

Ever yours, C. W. W.

The Duke of Buckingham's desire to enter the Cabinet elicited further correspondence: both letters are eminently characteristic; those which

immediately follow are not clearly illustrative of the political history of the time.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Windsor Castle, Oct. 4, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 28th.

You may rely upon it that whenever I give you an opinion upon any subject it shall be my real one, and I will disguise nothing from you. You fill a very high station, and your talents qualify you eminently for a seat in the Cabinet. But that is not always enough; and it is impossible for any man to force himself into that situation. When the connection between your family and the Government was formed, C. Wynn was considered its representative in the Cabinet. It is certainly true not only that there was no exclusion of you or of anybody else, and on the contrary I heard that you stipulated that you might bring your claim under consideration when you should think proper. But I think that the recollection of Wynn's position should in some degree guide your discretion upon this subject, and that you should look for means in which your very natural wish to have a seat in the Cabinet can be gratified without injury to him.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Wotton, Oct. 12, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I feel truly obliged to you for your letter, and consider your advice as most friendly and kind. I must, however,

set right one misconception which appears in your letter. You state that when my friends joined the Government, Mr. Williams Wynn was considered as the representative of my family in the Cabinet. I beg to assure you that no such exclusive arrangement was ever even implied; on the contrary, in the first moment of my first interview with Lord Liverpool, I stated our junction was not a question of terms but of measures, and that the arrangement then made was in no respect to interfere with my claim to Cabinet office. This was assented to by Lord Liverpool at the time, and afterwards repeatedly stated to and acquiesced in by the late Lord Londonderry. It was repeatedly stated on both sides that the reason why those claims were not urged at the time was, that there was no opening for me in the House of Lords. In compliance with your advice I forbear pressing those claims at the present moment; but in declaring that I shall press them with the greatest earnestness on the first favourable opportunity, and that I consider that under no circumstances short of an acquiescence in those claims can I make my support of Government as complete and efficient as I wish it to be, I feel that I best consider the situation of Charles Wynn in the Cabinet, and the dignity of my family, of which I am the representative.

Believe me always, my dear Duke,

Yours sincerely,

B. & C.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Oct. 27, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I will certainly be with you in Pall Mall on the evening of the 3rd. I am quite alone in town, for every one of my

colleagues, with the exception of Peel, is absent; and you know that he hath no particular pleasure in communicating with me more than is necessary to avoid any public rupture, besides which at present he is otherwise engaged, as his wife is just brought to bed.

The French seem sensible of their difficulties. Their present plan, I believe, is to leave 10,000 men in Cadiz, 5000 at Madrid, 15,000 on the Ebro, and march the remainder home; but that force will be, I should think, wholly insufficient to maintain any order between two parties so fond of the pastime of mutual throat-cutting.

France wants to refer the question of the recognition of the S. A. colonies to a general Congress, but we proceed in our own course. The Portuguese Government seem aware of the impossibility of recovering Brazil, but dwell on the importance of the Captaincies of Peru and Maranhao, which are still disposed to adhere to the mother country.

I am going down to Windsor to-morrow to present the new C. J. of Calcutta for knighthood.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Since writing the above I have seen Peel, who gives me a very encouraging account of the success of the Tithe Bill. In most parishes the graziers are the only opponents, but in general the parson and the population unite in eagerness to carry it into execution.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Oct. 30, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

Enclosed I send you an extract from a private letter from Goulburn to Peel, which I think gives a most satis-

factory view of the operation of the Tithe Act. The number of cases in which the parishes have agreed to a composition is quite enough to try the experiment, and to ascertain how the details of the Bill work, and at the same time not so numerous as to render it difficult to watch their progress, and to apply remedies to the defects of the Act as they shall be discovered. . . . . I found H. M—— looking well on Tuesday, quite strong on his legs, and very gracious. He inquired about you and your grand doings, &c.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

MR. GOULBURN TO MR. PEEL.

Vestries have been applied for in about six hundred parishes, being about one-fourth of all the parishes in Ireland. In the majority of cases the application has been made by the incumbent, but in very many by the payers of tithe. We have only as yet answers from seventy-one parishes, in fifty-one of which the vestries have determined to proceed under the bill, and commissioners have been accordingly appointed, and in twenty the vestries have adjourned *sine die*, preferring the existing system of tithe to that which the present Bill would introduce. No composition has as yet been arranged anywhere, and until that is done it is impossible to say whether the result will be satisfactory or just to the several parties concerned, and upon that circumstance the fate and character of the measure depends. You could scarce believe the difficulty which has existed in making even the most interested parties understand or even read the Act itself, and in preventing the most egregious and fatal blunders.

The vestries, generally speaking, have conducted them-

selves with decency. There has been nowhere any actual tumult. There have been several severe contests between the grazing interest and the tillage farmers, in which sometimes the latter have prevailed, but in which, generally speaking, the former has succeeded in preventing the adoption of the Act. Where there has been a contest the clergyman and the lower order of his parishioners have been usually on one side, and the large proprietor on the other. So far is well, as anything that puts the clergy in favour with the mob is a change for the better.

In some instances the Roman Catholic clergy have opposed the Bill as being adverse to their interests. It is unfortunate that the titular bishops of Cashel and Cork should have both promulgated this opinion; but as the priest in one parish was in the minority in vestry, and the multitude who were assembled round the church hailed the clergyman's majority of two with repeated acclamations, I think a sense of temporal interest will overcome the dread of spiritual censure.

Mr. Wynn appears to have been much annoyed by the indolence of a colleague, who held an appointment that demanded almost ceaseless activity, combined with unusual energy of purpose. But complaints on the subject had already become frequent—unfortunately with very little effect.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 24, 1823.

'My dear B——,

I am quite as much aware as you are of the white feather which has been exhibited in the late conduct of the Lord-Lieutenant, still I think he might be brought to

feel that after the line pursued by Lord F—— in the House of Commons last session, independent of all question of Catholic and Protestant, his nomination would be a direct confession of *impotency* in Lord W——'s Government, and an invitation to fresh affronts from all young gentlemen who want preferment. It will be for you to consider whether, not *immediately*, but in the course of a fortnight or three weeks, it may not be advisable that you should epistolise him and try to screw up his courage to a somewhat more elevated point. Perhaps you will state that such is the state of his affairs that this is beyond the power either of yourself or Moll Raffles, but still it may be worth trying.

Our revenue is going on most prosperously. As to the augmentation, the expense of it will not exceed 150,000*l.*, and is therefore scarcely worth mentioning. I am most sanguine in my confidence of the continuance of peace. France still presses for a Congress on South America, but repeats the most distinct assurances—

1st. That they have declared their determination not to accept any territorial advantage in South America.

2ndly. That they will observe the most strict neutrality, and neither grant the assistance of French troops nor permit French vessels to convey Spanish troops.

3rdly. That they will advise the Court of Madrid, with a view to the recognition of the colonies, which, however, they still urge should be arranged at a Congress.

Their force in the West Indies, by our last accounts, consists only of the *Vestale*, 60, and the frigates *Thetis* and *Concorde*. This they mean to relieve and increase by one or two frigates destined to carry out a reinforcement of five hundred men, which they think necessary in consequence of some symptoms among the black population of Martinique and Guadaloupe.

The Emperor of Russia professes the highest gratitude for the interference and negotiations of Lord Strangford, and has sent an agent to Constantinople, but still delays the re-establishment of his regular diplomatic mission there on the plea of the evacuation of the Principalities not having been completed.

Lord Liverpool goes down to Dropmore, I believe, next week. None of the legal appointments are yet made. I understand that the Attorney-General is disposed to wait till Plumer shall be obliged to give up the Rolls. Copley will, I suppose, take the Common Pleas. I apprehend the choice of our new law officers must rest between Adam, Shadwell, and Tyndal. The two former are both *Papists*, I believe. Do you know whether the latter is likely to have any bias on that subject likely to interfere with the commands of the Lord Chancellor?

I have just got the papers relative to the charge against Mr. C——. I am disposed to think he will march off on honourable terms, if not quite with flying colours.

That he got usurious interest for his money, I believe; but as he was a free merchant, no servant of the Company, and not possessing any authority, and as the Zemindar of Vizianagum was not a *prince* within the Act of Parliament, it was simply an illegal contract between two individuals, and no political offence; and as the time which has since elapsed is infinitely too long to allow of any penalty under the Usury Acts being recovered, there is no way in which the matter could be taken up, even if desirable.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Dec. 1, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I have just seen a friend who quoted a letter from Spring Rice, at Rome, expressing some surprise at having been invited to dine with the Speaker and finding Mrs. P—— at the head of the table. This is a new substitute for the chaplain! What will the University of Cambridge say?

You have probably heard that the Lord Bridgewater's property by his will finally centres in Lord Brownlow's eldest or second son, or in Egerton of Tatton, accordingly as either of them can obtain the Marquisate of Bridgewater, and if they all fail, then to his heirs-at-law.

I believe I told you on Saturday that the Attorney-General is to go to the Common Pleas, and from thence whenever Plumer can be extruded to the Rolls, Hart probably Chief Baron, and I hope Shadwell Solicitor-General. I say I *hope*, not from any love to him, but because that bore Wetherall is the other candidate.

When the Attorney goes to the Rolls, Copley will of course go to the Common Pleas, and we shall then have to decide between Adam and Tyndal for a fresh Solicitor-General.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Dec. 5, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

The favourite device of the wise Spanish Administration has been the creation of a company who should advance

them money on the security of the crown property in the colonies; but notwithstanding Mr. Parish's efforts, neither Rothschild nor any of the other capitalists would bite, but have plainly answered that it was impossible that the Spanish Government could find credit for any loan while the former ones, contracted in the name of the King, remained unacknowledged. Our demands upon them are 40 millions of reals, those of France, 30,—and nobody seems to have a guess how that is to be raised. They have at present got a little money as an advance on the loan to the Regency, formerly contracted for at Paris, which they hope will enable them to disband the army.

The last language of France is, that they are so unmanageable, particularly on the subject of the colonies, that they, the French Ministers, are strongly disposed to abandon them to their fate and to adopt the policy of G—— B—— with respect to the colonies, as they are convinced their interest is the same as ours. But the views of France change so much from day to day, that we may find them very probably next week holding the highest language of the Ultras. Much good may it do them!

Canning is familiar and friendly in his manner, but I see nearly as little of him as of my other colleagues; as he is at Gloucester Lodge, and only comes to the office for business. Lord Liverpool goes to Dropmore on Wednesday.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

The next letter alludes to a negotiation between the British and Dutch Governments then in progress, of which the Greffier Fagel, on the part of his Government, had the management.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

4, Whitehall Place, Dec. 13, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I left Dropmore yesterday to meet my Dutchman for our first conference to-day, and I had hardly come to town when I received a note from Canning, desiring that it might be deferred till Monday, as he has a fresh attack of gout. I have had, however, some unofficial conversation with Fagel, from which I hope that the discussion may be brought to a speedier determination than negotiations with Dutchmen usually are. I return to you Plunket's letter, from which I should augur that yours has been of use; but I regret to see a want of energy, both in master and man, which must almost disqualify them for coping successfully with the exterior and interior enemies they have to deal with.

When Pl—— admits that the reasons which have hitherto prevented the promotion of Catholics are not sufficient to afford a satisfactory explanation, and that no part of the blame is attributable to Lord Liverpool, he does in fact pronounce the severest censure on Lord Wellesley, considering what were the express principles on which he accepted the Government of Ireland, and in confidence of the assertion of which by him, we united with Lord Liverpool.

The visit of Lord L—— to Dropmore went off very well. He was chatty, full of anecdote, and evidently anxious to please. Lord G——, in consequence of three bad nights, not so well this week.

The Duke of York was on Wednesday to have gone to the Westminster Play, according to his regular custom, and a party of Lord Sidmouth, Peel, &c., attended to meet him;

but Halford came down to tell Goodenough that the Duke had had such an attack on his chest, that he had been obliged positively to forbid his stirring out.

These attacks seem to come very frequently. Halford told Phillimore a fortnight ago, that it had not been till within the last two months that he considered the Duke as safe from the effects of that which followed the *battue* at Ashridge.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Dec. 17, 1823.

MY DEAR B——.

Canning is still laid up with the gout.

It is very absurd in the *Courier* to insert the paragraph about the Duke of York's health in a leading article; for, though I believe it to be perfectly true, yet, as the very next paragraph states him to have gone on a shooting excursion, it will seem contradictory, but will at all events make him and his friends very angry, and form a ground of complaint against that which calls itself a leading Government paper.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Dec. 18, 1823.

MY DEAR B——.

I have informed Falck of the religious and constitutional obligation which we are under to be idle at Christmas, and I find him well disposed to observe the said law in his proper person. Fremantle has told me of a curious speech of the King's at Windsor on the subject of Catholic emancipation, declaring that the only manner of setting the question at REST and quiet Ireland, would be once in three years to hold a Parliament there!!!

The impression of the bad state of the Chancellor's health is very general.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

P.S. It is fit that you should know that you have invited Heber to *Stowe* for Christmas, and that he came to town fully intending to go there in his way to Althorp. You know his direction is Pimlico.

The Duke of Wellington, if he possessed a weakness, it took the shape of wishing to be thought free from the ordinary aches and pains of humanity, and the epithet of "The Iron Duke" he regarded quite as much in the light of a compliment to his constitution as to his character.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 23, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I merely write now to tell you that I heard yesterday the Duke of Wellington had been seized, while on a visit last week at Lord Hertford's, with another very serious attack similar to that which he experienced last winter, and previous to his journey to the Congress. It was very alarming while it lasted, but by copious bleeding he was relieved; he is extremely jealous of having it known, and professes to be quite well, but you may rely on it he is far otherwise, and when I last saw him nothing could look more wretchedly or broken. I really thought him twenty years older than when last I had seen him. Of course you will not take notice of this by any inquiry, for the reason I have given you.

I hear nothing further worth telling you; I fear we shall have great difficulties arising from the state of our West India Islands; and however we may fancy the immediate danger of a rise of the Negroes, it cannot long be prevented, and, indeed, the proprietors have even now very little interest in maintaining this state of things.

Adieu, my dear Duke; believe me always with very sincere attachment,

Faithfully yours,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Christmas Day.

MY DEAR B——,

I am thoroughly disgusted with our legal arrangements: Gifford and Alexander will be gazetted on Saturday as Chief Justice of Common Pleas and Chief Baron. The latter is about seventy years old, rather more than less; a good equity lawyer, but if he ever went a circuit it must be forty years ago. He will go through the business possibly for a year or two, then he will become superannuated; but it will be thought a job to give him a pension, and the poor suitors will have to bear the penalty of his incapacity.

The Solicitor is not yet finally fixed, as it remains to be seen whether Wetherall will engage to support the Tithe Bill and obey orders, but I conclude he will. I am not surprised the Chancellor and Peel should support him, for he is as bigoted and furious No Popery as they could wish; but why Canning should, unless because he was one of the Queen's friends, I cannot conceive. He is a good lawyer, but a most tedious House of Commons speaker, most uncouth in his manners.

Of course it would be idle to expect any effect from a representation, when Lord L—— tells me that the K——, the Chancellor, Peel, and Canning, all agree in wishing it. I have talked to the latter on the subject, and he only pleads the disappointment it would occasion, and the effect of driving him into opposition (in which I should see no inconvenience whatever), but owns that Wetherall is personally as disagreeable to him as to other persons.

I have heard only the same account of the Duke of Wellington as I believe has reached you. I forgot to ask Lord Liverpool about him to-day, but I hear that he, the D——, is jealous of any one supposing him ill.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

CHAPTER II.

[1824.]

MR. CANNING'S GENERALSHIP ON THE SLAVE-TRADE QUESTION—POLICY OF ENGLAND IN RECOGNISING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE REVOLTED COLONIES OF SPAIN, AND IN REMAINING NEUTRAL DURING THE OCCUPATION OF SPAIN BY A FRENCH ARMY—THE NEGROES IN THE WEST INDIES—THE HORSE GUARDS AND THE BOARD OF CONTROL—FRANK PROCEEDING OF THE DUKE OF YORK—PROGRESS OF THE IRISH TITHE ACT—TREATMENT OF AN EDITOR IN BRAZIL—CANNING, PEEL, AND BROUGHAM—MARQUIS OF HASTINGS AND THE COURT OF DIRECTORS—THE KING AND THE RECORDER'S REPORT—ATTACKS ON THE LORD CHANCELLOR IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—KINDNESS OF THE KING TO LORD ELDON'S GRANDSON.

CHAPTER II.

The exertions of Mr. Wilberforce and his band of active philanthropists on behalf of the Negro, had neither as yet succeeded in abolishing the traffic in human beings for carrying on "the domestic institution" known as slavery, nor had effected the complete emancipation of the slaves in our colonies. The state of some of our West India possessions, in consequence of the antagonism prevailing between the planters, who believed that they had everything to lose by Negro emancipation, and their black labourers, who were assured that they had everything to gain by it, excited much uneasiness. Mr. Canning when in office was far from being as liberal a politician as when in opposition—this, however, is merely the difference that exists between responsibility and irresponsibility. With those Governments that still encouraged the hideous trade he refrained from too open an interference, and skilfully took advantage of the want of generalship in the leaders of the agitation to get rid of the question. "I thought a little," says the apostle of Negro emancipation, when recording his efforts to bring the subject before Parliament, "and looked over topics, but did not

make the order of a speech. Fatigue rather stupified me, and I forgot the most important points. But Canning's generalship was admirable, and his troops submissive. He let me exhaust my motions, that it be received, printed, &c., then merely asked whether I meant to make a distinct motion? None of the friends of the cause said a word."[1]

The question was surrounded with difficulties, through which the Minister did not clearly see his way, therefore he put aside his abolition professions. It will be seen by the letter which follows, as well as by one from Mr. Wynn written five days later, that our legislative proceedings on behalf of our own colonial slaves had not been attended with such complete success as to induce a prudent statesman to take any steps in the same direction.

Another subject equally supported by popular favour, was the recognition by the British Government of the independence of the Spanish Colonies in South America. Many years before, when the struggle between Spain and her distant possessions had only commenced, Lord Grenville was canvassed for his opinion on the propriety of Great Britain assisting the colonists to throw off the yoke of the mother country; but with a far-sightedness that characterized his policy, he declined following the unworthy example of Louis XVI. to interpose in a domestic quarrel for the purpose of embarrassing a

[1] "Life of William Wilberforce," by his Sons, vol. v. p. 170.

neighbouring power—an interposition that plunged his kingdom into anarchy, caused his own destruction, and made his family fugitives in the land he had assisted to humiliate. When Mr. Canning for the second time obtained the seals of the Foreign Office, liberal measures, as they were called, were the order of the day, and the British empire was made to throw its weight into the scale against a State it had a few years before expended extraordinary contributions of blood and treasure to defend, that her revolted colonies might enjoy the privilege of existing in a chronic state of revolution, preliminary to their being absorbed into the colossal republic in the northern division of the same continent, the fruit of that particular revolt the French monarch had helped to render successful.

The neutral policy of England in the proceedings of France against Spain was also a disappointment to those ardent patriots, who could not reconcile themselves to the complete setting at nought of our glorious Peninsular campaigns, nor to witness the triumph of a Bourbon in the theatre where a Napoleon had failed. But the whole course of the foreign policy of the country was undergoing a change—that military genius whose overthrow had been effected by the sublime exertions of patriotic energy, had died in his distant prison, and our nationality having nothing to apprehend, England, it was thought, could afford to wait in an attitude of observation the quarrels of continental States; but the

more reflective politicians were not reconciled to her loss of *prestige* in a country she had rescued from subjection, after one of the most heroic struggles on record, by this inglorious inaction, and such as were able to look beneath the surface of the transaction, and note that France was secretly supported by another power, once overrun by the legions of the Imperial conqueror, the emancipation of which British arms and British treasure had effected, the dissatisfaction became more profound. A show of liberality in the proceedings of the Government, and its profession in brilliant exhibitions of oratory, either imposed upon or satisfied the great body of the community, and things were permitted to proceed: in what manner the ensuing correspondence will describe.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Coombe Wood, Jan. 14, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

It certainly is extremely to be wished that means could be found of strengthening the hands of the local authorities equally against those who foment insurrection and disturbance among the Negroes and those white inhabitants who, particularly in Barbadoes, take the law into their own hands, pull down meeting-houses, and issue edicts of proscription against all Methodist preachers and counter-proclamations against those of the Government. These persons are evidently abetted and protected by the majority of the House of Assembly, which has refused to pass a Riot Act, and their ignorant or corrupt Crown lawyers, who

have gravely given it as their opinion that without a "*Riot Act*" the military cannot be called out to suppress a disturbance.

It is suggested arming the governors with a power resembling that of the Alien Act, or of the Governors in India, but how should this power be conferred? By a British Act? Then we at once assume the power of internal legislation for the colonies, in an instance of all others the most odious, penal, and not remedial. If by colonial laws, would they be passed? and would not their proposal and failure produce more evil than good? Remember of what description our West Indian Governors usually are—officers without any more knowledge of the management of men than they have acquired in the command of a battalion; compare them with the East Indian Governors, assisted by a Council of men the best acquainted with the habits and character of the people they have to govern, and say whether it would be safe to entrust them with similar arbitrary and discretionary powers.

If you were to read their correspondence, I am sure you would equally distrust them. For instance, in the last packet, one of them strongly recommends that any black woman having a child by her master, shall *ipso facto* become free. Can you conceive a better encouragement for fornication and perjury? Another advises above all things an increase in the number of churches, the present being overcrowded at all hours, and the slaves therefore obliged to resort to meeting-houses. A third deprecates the admission of Negroes into churches, which ought to be reserved for the whites, and which only serve to the former as the means of meeting for sedition and conspiracy.

These are some of the difficulties at present surrounding us, and which really oppose themselves to almost any measure which can be devised. Our task must be, as far

as we can in the ensuing session, to allay the acrimony of discussion by which both the Abolitionists and colonists will be disposed to increase the flame. Till, however, the subject fairly comes before the Cabinet the week after next, it is impossible to know exactly what course will be adopted.

France has taken much umbrage at the President's Message to Congress, believing it to be the result of a concert between America and this country. This we have denied, and have told them, which is true, that the conference of C—— and the P. de Polignac was only communicated to America at the same time with the other Powers. That the difference between their course and ours is most marked, and proceeds in great measure from their having set out with the recognition which we still delay. We, equally with them, have declared our determination not to suffer the interference of any third power in the disputes between Spain and her colonies; but we have expressly precluded ourselves from opposing any efforts which Spain *bonâ fide* herself may make for re-establishing her power over them; whereas the United States seem equally disposed to resist any such attempt from Spain as from France. With respect to the protest and denunciation against any new European settlement in America, we express our indisposition in any degree to acquiesce in it, and our hope that it is only to be considered as an extravagant pretension, put forth to meet the still more extravagant and absurd pretensions of Russia to treat an ocean of 4000 miles as a *mare clausum*.

Rush has to Canning professed ignorance; but his belief is that the passage referred only to Russia.

Casa d'Irrujo has had an apoplectic attack, so I suppose that there must be another new Administration in Spain.

The Duc d'Angoulême is, I understand, among the foremost to declare that the course which has been pursued since the restoration of the King of Spain's authority, leaves no hope of any benefit arising either to that country or to Europe from the measures of last year. Still to France herself that employment of her army has proved highly advantageous, and, so far, it has been good for the common cause.

This is unquestionably the dullest house in which I ever passed a day, yet one is obliged perpetually to begin fresh subjects, which usually drop to the ground without effect. There is nobody here but ourselves and a family of Boothbys, who live here.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Board, Jan. 15, 1824.

My dear Duke,

The whole of the Government are profiting by the short period between this and the meeting, to get into the country, and I can fish up no news to tell you.

The West India question is that which will pinch us most, but the saints must bear the brunt. I know not where the attack is mostly to come from, as every leading man in the country, with a very narrow exception, has helped to goad on this feeling and hope in the Negro.

The last time Lady Bulkley spoke to me on her affairs, she said she should bring in either Frankland Lewis or young Williams, it depended on the footing on which the former stood. She has the sole and entire power over the borough. I will see what further information I can procure for you on this point, but it is better done when people come to

town. I have not the least idea of our Government being urged on to war; the measure, I should hope, is impracticable. Wynn has been passing two days with Lord Liverpool at Coombe, and is much pleased.

Yours most truly, &c.,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jan. 19, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

It gives me great pleasure to find that our general views of the West India question are less different than I at first imagined.

In considering this question, you must recollect that the Government is placed between a Scylla and Charybdis, both equally loud, violent, and disposed to raise public outcry on their side of the question, without even referring to its (or their own) ultimate interests. You are aware that this is the case with respect to the Abolitionists, but have not had equal opportunity of knowing the conduct of the colonists.

For example: in Lord Bathurst's instructions issued last year, any reference to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves was carefully avoided, but in *private* conversation with Hibbert, the agent for Jamaica, he adverted to the impossibility of maintaining in argument the *perpetuity* of slavery to any succeeding generation of Negroes. This Hibbert writes over to the Council, one of the members of which is either a printer or brother to a printer. He immediately prints it with the most violent comments he can annex, and thus propagates among the slaves most powerfully the opinion that the Government wish their emancipation, but their masters resist it. It is perfectly true that there is a

strong American party who blow the coals of dissension as busily as they can, but with what object I cannot conceive.

Supposing Great Britain to abandon all her islands to America to-morrow, could America afford them internal protection? Does any one of the planters imagine that the United States would maintain an army for them simply to keep their slaves in subjection? Can they imagine that their own Negroes will remain quiet, or perhaps that they will take arms at their command to resist the damnable doctrines of emancipation?

The truth is that the planters are experiencing, with an aggregation tenfold, the same pressure under which the agriculture of this kingdom has suffered.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Jan. 23, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I yesterday saw Gordon accidentally, and took an opportunity of mentioning to him confidentially how much I had been hurt by the manner in which the Commander-in-chief had made his reference on the affairs of India to the Government, particularly mentioning my not being aware of any instance in which I had been wanting in attention to his wishes, or respect for his communications. He protested most eagerly that nothing could be further from what was intended; that, on the contrary, a communication which I had made immediately before had given the greatest satisfaction, but that it was thought that this course of addressing the Government through the Secretary of State might be more agreeable to me, as less tending to embroil me with the India House. This is all fudge; but as he admitted that the proceeding was an irregular one, and

said that Taylor should be sent to explain it to me, I must, I suppose, rest satisfied; and if my colleagues are as well disposed as Liverpool and Canning appear to me to be to support me in essential resistance to the demands of the letter, it is less material to raise the battle upon the form in which it has been addressed.

I think Lord Bathurst was the person who immediately on receiving the letter should have answered it, stating that it ought to be addressed to me. I have, therefore, sent it back to him with a note (private) merely saying that "I must freely state, that I consider the reasons there assigned for bringing under the view of the Cabinet, questions relating to India, through any other department but that to which the care of the affairs of that country is entrusted by the King, to be most insufficient.

"I am much obliged to you for giving me this opportunity of perusing the memorandum, and whenever the Cabinet shall take it into consideration, I shall be prepared to state my opinion upon it, fully and unreservedly."

I shall take an early opportunity to talk to the Duke of Wellington upon it, and will not fail to tell you the further progress of the business.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Jan. 28.

MY DEAR B——,

Enclosed I transmit to you a letter which I yesterday received from Sir Herbert Taylor.[1] My answer simply expresses gratitude for the approbation of the manner in

[1] Not preserved.

which I have discharged my official duty, and for having relieved me from the apprehensions I entertained of having unconsciously incurred his Royal Highness's displeasure. I had proceeded to state the inconvenience of the course which had been adopted, and to represent the advantage of addressing all communications to the individual to whose department they related; but finding by conversation Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Melville, and Canning all decidedly with me upon the inexpediency and, indeed, impossibility of complying with any of the Duke's recommendations, I thought it unnecessary to increase any feeling of irritation by reading him a lecture on the unconstitutional mode in which those recommendations have been conveyed.

We have been occupied for the last three days principally upon South America, not so much on what was to be done, but how much should be said, both in the note in answer to the Spanish invitation to a conference, and in the King's speech.

The particular attention required to this subject proceeds very much from a knowledge of the King's disinclination to all recognition, he being truly "royaliste par métier." The speech simply states his having appointed consuls for the protection of trade, and as to further measures reserved to himself the right of adopting them at such time as shall appear to him most conformable to the interests of his subjects.

His perseverance in the course of neutrality so cordially approved by Parliament between France and Spain, is also adverted to, and the prospect of a full settlement between Russia and the Porte by the exertions of his Minister. Flourishing state of the revenue, improvement of agriculture, and almost every branch of manufacture.

Compliance with the resolutions of Parliament in the instructions issued to the West Indies, and recommendation of temper and caution in all discussions and proceedings on the subject; recommendation of increase in the ecclesiastical establishment in the West Indies (as desired last year by the London Committee of West India Planters).

Hall is Dean of Durham, and Christ Church lies between Samuel Smith and Goodenough; it being acknowledged to be absolutely necessary that it shall be given to a Westminster.

The taxes to be taken off and reduced will be entirely *commercial*, that on raw silk and thrown silk, and on foreign wool, which together will amount to about 430,000*l.* for this year, and double the sum hereafter.

I have heard nothing yet of the bishopric, having confined my attention to Christ Church and Westminster; but I suppose Lichfield will be given to Legge or Ryder from local considerations, and Bloomfield will be the new one.

I have just had a note desiring me to call at York House to-morrow, which makes me the more glad I spared him my lecture.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Mr. Wynn, as has been seen, disapproved of a proceeding of the Duke of York, in an official paper from the Horse Guards, that appeared to pass a slight upon the President of the Board of Control, but as many persons could have told him, who had the honour of knowing his Royal Highness officially, or in private life, nothing of the kind had been intended, therefore we are not surprised that a satis-

factory explanation from the Commander-in-chief, in the characteristic manner described by Mr. Wynn, should have been promptly given.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Jan. 31, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

Nothing could be more satisfactory and, I must say, kind than the Duke of York's expressions when I called upon him. He assured me that his communication to Lord Bathurst proceeded only from "an error in judgment;" that, if I wished it, he was perfectly ready to apply for the return of it, and to address it to me; and that, at all events, I might rest satisfied that nothing of the kind should again occur. So we parted to all appearance excellent friends.

We have a most favourable report of the progress of the Irish Tithe Act, which is very different from what has been circulated in newspapers and by common report.

I can only give you the numbers from recollection, but believe that in 466 cases meetings have been held under the Act, in 216 of which it has been determined to proceed to composition, in all of which therefore the plan is in progress and must finally take effect. Of the 216—

41	are in the province	of	Armagh.
47	„	„	Dublin.
48	„	„	Tuam.
80	„	„	Cashel.

The success, therefore, has been infinitely greater in the Catholic than in the Protestant parts of the kingdom. In 31 of these the proceedings are completed, and the certificate of composition registered. In 250 cases it has been

determined not to proceed; but there are several of these where this has arisen from the report that the Act was to be amended, and an opinion that it would be better to wait to see whether some reduction of the *averages* might not take place, and the wish to see what the success of the measure in other parishes might be before they pledged themselves to adopt it. Some parishes have already discovered that they have acted under misconception, and have given notice for meetings to revive the question.

The general report of the state of the country brought over by Goulbourn is also of an encouraging nature, particularly an influx of English capital, which is communicating activity to the manufactures of the south.

The proceedings against Smith, the Demerara missionary, have come over, by which he is convicted by the court marshal, but strongly recommended to mercy. This will be complied with probably; for I understand that the proofs are slight, though establishing a knowledge on his part that *something* was going on which he concealed.

I find that the Jamaica residents are quite as violent against the West India planters resident in England for their suggestions of last year to Government as with Ministers. The principal battle will be on Buxton's motion for declaring all persons born after a certain day to be free, which he declares his determination to bring forward, and which will be supported by the usual number of petitions. This, I believe, will be decidedly resisted by us.

You ask what the answer has been to the invitation to a conference on the part of Spain.

A detailed note, stating our general views, our conviction that no mediation can be successful but one founded on the basis of a recognition of independence; that we have avowed this opinion repeatedly to Spain, and that there

can be no benefit in going to a congress to repeat it; that it is our wish to leave to Spain the grace and advantage of taking the lead in this recognition, and securing to herself commercial advantages over other nations; but that our discretion on this subject cannot be bound up with that of Spain, or our own further measures indefinitely delayed. That we have directed inquiries to be made, on the result of which those measures will mainly depend, of which Spain shall receive due and early intimation.

The news from Brazil is bad, and your old friend, Sir Thomas Hardy, who is just arrived, apprehends much the breaking up of the newly-created empire into provincial governments, all, of course, republican. The Emperor seems to be a brute *baist*, riding on the backs of Negroes, and actively employing spurs. His last frolic was to break open the house of an editor who had offended him.

He and his two attendants were masqued, and his Majesty held the horses while his attendants proceeded to the man's bedroom and severely beat him. He afterwards visited the man, expressing great commiseration, and asked him if he suspected any one; in answer to which the man told him he knew two, and named them, and then added he also knew the third, but never should mention his name to any one!

I am sorry to hear of your gout, which, however, I hope has been less painful than the King's, which has been more severe than on almost any former occasion. He is still in bed, where he will hold the Council for the speech. Harrowby, Westmoreland, Liverpool, Canning, and Robinson went down this morning to attend it.

I hear that we are vastly popular, and all the country gentlemen disposed to support us warmly—of which support, if the rise of the funds should, as seems not unlikely,

enable them to reduce their mortgages to three per cent. in the course of next year, we may expect a continuance.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

It will, I believe, be proposed to render the Alien Act perpetual, limiting its operation to persons who have been resident less than three years.

Parliament opened by Commission on the 3rd of February. A lively Session was promised by the opening, which subsequent proceedings did not disappoint.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 4, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You will see by the papers what passed yesterday in the House. Nothing could be more flat and tiresome. Canning very unnecessarily entered into an explanation of his conduct regarding the Catholic Question, which brought up Peel, who, with some display of bad temper, made his declaration. This was exactly what Brougham had aimed at, and was injudicious; perhaps the observations of Daly required some reply, in order to prevent any effect which might have been excited in Ireland; but it was full enough to have said that they had no connection or reference whatever to the King's speech, or to measures in the contemplation of Government. Canning, however, never can lose sight for one moment of his personal apprehension and jealousy of character.

There exists a grand quarrel between some of the members of the Board of Admiralty and Canning, for the

latter's evidence on the court-martial which took place on the captain who took out Thornton. Cockburn is so highly offended that when he received Canning's invitation to the usual dinner meeting of the members of Government previous to the opening of Parliament, to read the speech, he sent immediately a refusal. Croker, who is equally offended, did not think fit to resent it in this manner, and therefore went; but an order has been issued (as I hear) at the Foreign Office *not* to correspond *through the Secretary* with the Admiralty. I understand Lord Melville don't take it up, or care one farthing about it; but I believe that Cockburn and Croker were alone responsible for the proceedings which took place regarding the court-martial, and therefore are sorely hurt. Nothing can be more absurd than Cockburn's conduct, whom I take to be an ungovernable man, and his head turned by the dominion he holds at the Admiralty.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Feb. 10, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I have offered to Lord C—— the best advice in my power, and can only say that were I Lord Melville, and found that any captain had, during a period of near two years, inflicted a number of punishments greatly exceeding any other instance, and that the admiral on his station, upon being referred to, declared that he did not think there had been any special circumstances sufficient to justify them, I would dismiss him from his ship, and would not fix the period after which I should be willing to re-employ him. In so doing I should feel that I exercised a judicial duty, in the discharge of which I would not submit to the interference of Lord Liverpool, or any other of my colleagues.

Having stated this to him, I must of course leave him to act upon his own judgment.

I return to you the letter of your correspondent, but I must say that I do not think that his suggestions are such as could be advantageously complied with, if, indeed, they *could* be complied with by any Administration.

I am quite disposed to admit the danger of a premature discussion of the necessity of emancipating the slaves, but of the existence of that necessity, and that it must be effected by a gradual course of measures, I am still more fully persuaded, and therefore nothing should make me concur in a direct and general disavowal.

The best way of carrying this object into execution appears to me to be by facilitating to every slave the means of purchasing his own liberation . . . Nor can I assent to the other suggestion of dismissing Lord Bathurst for measures on which he proceeded with the distinct approbation of the whole Cabinet.

The great error of the West India interest seems to me always to overrate their own strength, and to bluster as if they had the means of defying, instead of requiring the most active protection of Government.

I quite agree with you in thinking that Daly's introduction of the Catholic Question was most uncalled for; I believe it proceeded from his having given offence by his opposition to Plunket last year, and that he therefore meant it as a *tub* to his Catholic constituents.

I have not heard a word of any intention in Wellesley to resign, nor can I believe that anything but an absolute insult would induce him to relinquish such a berth as he now enjoys. Of the story of Lady C—— I know no more than that it is very generally reported, and that Lady L—— is said to be the successor.

We shall not have any business till Nugent's motion on

Foreign Policy on Tuesday, the 17th; and Newport's respecting the Irish burials on the 19th. I have written to beg Plunket to come over for the latter, for nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the opinion which he has given privately on the subject, or seem more absolutely to require that the Government should take some step to draw the line which by the law appears to be quite ambiguous. I suppose Lord Hastings will succeed King Tom, but he is unpleasantly situated.

The other day Colonel Doyle addressed a letter to the Court of Directors, calling upon them to notice and contradict the paragraphs; they answered this by lamenting the attacks which had appeared on Lord Hastings, "but expressing the impossibility of their noticing anonymous papers." Hereupon his friends in the Direction moved to insert "*unjust*" before attacks, which was negatived 14 to 6. Do not send this to the papers; it will get there by other channels fast enough.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Feb. 11, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

Lord Hastings is, I believe, to have the Government of Malta, which is worth from 5000*l.* to 6000*l.* a year, and Sir Frederick Adam to be Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. This is so far right that it is better than appointing Lord Hastings to the whole, as held by King Tom; but I fear lest it should be made afterwards a reason for raising Adam's salary.

I forgot to say that the paragraph in the paper announcing Lord *Farnham* taking his seat, *vice* Lord *Carberry*, was only an accidental transposition of the two names.

You will see by the newspaper the returns which Althorp has moved for. It is now no longer possible for Lord Wellesley's Administration to take any merit to themselves for administering the patronage more impartially than their predecessors. They have let slip the opportunity—the time is past—and whatever they now do will be attributed to the opposition, and not to their own voluntary act!

Everything I see makes me but too certain that neither of our friends possesses the energy and resolution necessary to combat with a faction so powerful and deep rooted as that which they had to encounter. They may complain of want of support here, but they must first support themselves. At the same time, if they are overthrown, it will be by those who, instead of feebly prosecuting, or rather wishing for good measures, will actively promote bad ones, and we must therefore assist them as far as we can; but can I individually praise their conduct, or say that it has justified those expectations upon which I accepted office? And may not Peel triumphantly call on me to point out what it is in which they differ from their predecessors, or where the course of the Government has been changed?

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Wednesday Night.

MY DEAR B——,

The debate of last night was most triumphant over the Ultras on both sides the question, particularly Baring, whom Canning cut to the bone in his reply.

We are still delaying the introduction of the Bill upon the question of the Irish burials, in consequence of the Lord Lieutenant protesting against leaving the permissory

power to the established clergyman, and contending that it ought to be *mandatory*, but abstaining, though pressed in every letter, to point out of *what* it ought to be mandatory, or how we are to proceed to legislate as to the ceremonial of burial to be observed by every present and future sect to whose ritual we are utter strangers.

The King has had a fit of the gout in consequence of the fatigues of the *levée*, but is to come to town on Friday for a Recorder's report, which has been delayed till there is an accumulation of three sessions in consequence of the Recorder being laid up with the gout and his positive refusal to allow the Common Serjeant (Denman) to report the cases!!! Advantage is now taken of the absence of the latter on the circuit, to take the report from another barrister also in the commission. "'Tis true 'tis pity, pity 'tis 'tis true."

As Lord Darnley's motion is fixed for the 5th of April, and you come up, I wish that you would dine with me on the Saturday and Sunday the 3rd and 4th. I would ask for one day, Plunket, Parnell, and some Irish, and for the other, Polignac and Lieven, &c., &c., who though bores, yet should be attended to, and would be more flattered by my serving you up to table than any of their usual diet of Cabinet or Household. I have to-day signed the treaty with the Netherlands for giving up Bencoolen (which costs us 96,000*l.* per annum), and receiving in return all their settlements on the continent of India, Malacca, an abandonment of their claims on Singapore, and 100,000*l.* in cash. No bad bargain.

Upon Ireland there is unfortunately little to be said, but that, though outrages still continue to a most formidable extent, yet that capital is to a certain degree re-appearing, and that there begins to be a very general appearance of confidence of improvement; and the old hackneyed, worn-

out argument, that you cannot look into the question without agitating it and blowing up the glowing (I cannot say sleeping) embers. Our Easter holidays are to be longer than usual, and to last from the 15th April to the 3rd of May.

We have an account of the settlement of our dispute with China, which, though not official, is, I believe, well founded. Should it prove so, there will probably be no difficulty in giving Urmston a patent of knighthood, which could not well be done while the matter was pending.

Sir Thomas Monro, the Governor of Madras, has announced his intention of retiring; his successor will probably be Sir John Malcolm or Lushington. The latter would be the most convenient to Government, who would thereby be rid of a bad Secretary of the Treasury; but it certainly might appear somewhat of a *job*. I am also told Sir Edward Paget is coming back, but I know not yet how truly. The two candidates named to me to succeed him, are Lord Combermere and Sir Lowry Cole.

Yours affectionately,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Feb. 21, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

The burial question has puzzled all the lawyers on both sides the channel. Plunket and Joy are divided, so are Copley and Sir C. Robinson. If Newport would have left it alone it would have been the best, but having mooted it, there are so many points of collision likely to result from the present state of the law that we must deal with it. Wellesley goes on promising a full statement of his views

and opinions but never giving it, and Plunket has delayed his coming over till next week; and without carrying them with us it is impossible to frame a new measure.

It has been to-day determined, after great discussion, to renew the Alien Act, exempting from its operation those who have been resident *five years!*

It is quite impossible for us to *disavow* any intention on the part of Parliament, particularly when that intention is alleged to have been expressed by an unanimous vote of the House of Commons, without obtaining directly or indirectly the sanction of the House of Commons to such disavowal. Now, it is my firm conviction that sanction cannot be obtained without a debate, which will do far more mischief even in your view of the case than will counterbalance the benefit.

Ever yours affectionately,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Feb. 28, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I am sorry to hear that there are a great number of our friends who feel as you do upon the half million for building churches, and that if the vote is persisted in, we shall have much difficulty to encounter.

The grant for Windsor and for the churches will, I believe, pass easily.

It is Sir G. Beaumont who has announced his intention of giving or leaving, but I rather believe the former, to the National Gallery. No tidings yet of Plunket; but that he is to bring over the result of the combined consultations of Lord-Lieutenant, Chancellor, and Solicitor-General. This has been so long promised as really to become almost

ridiculous. The Irish Government certainly take little pains to obtain a reputation here for efficiency and promptitude.

It is most fortunate that Charles Grant did not continue Secretary, as we wished; for with the infusion of his idleness all business must have stood completely still.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Feb. 29, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Peel is very angry at having been accidently in a minority last night. The question was of no consequence, but his temper could not brook it, and he showed it, as I hear, very much; I was not present. Nothing can be going on more prosperously than the Government is at present, and there does not promise much appearance of change. The King is in high good humour, and so far mended since his arrival at Windsor, that he was to be on his horse this morning. All the whisperings about dissension and jealousy in this quarter of the palace are, I believe, without foundation. I know that the Lady went to Windsor on the Saturday (after his return on the Thursday), and has been there ever since.

We are likely to have some turmoil in our Court of Directors with this question about Lord Hastings. The chairman, by stupidly refusing to answer the question at the last meeting, has involved himself and the Court in some difficulty, and compelled the friends of Lord H. to push the question forward. This will of necessity bring forward the whole history of the transactions at Hydrabad, which will not do great credit to the Government of Lord Hastings at that time, but which for very many reasons

had better have been withheld. We had a little discussion on the navy estimates, but not important. You may have observed that Hume particularly brought forward a charge of inattention on the part of the Admiralty to the infliction of severe punishments.

I hear nothing worth communicating to you. It is expected that the Chancellor will get a most severe dressing when Williams's motion comes on, and for which he will not care one sixpence, but continue his station and his profit.

Ever, my dear Duke, most faithfully,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

Lord Eldon had long been the object of Opposition attacks, and in a motion brought forward in the House of Commons by Mr. Williams, on the 24th of February, for a committee to inquire into the forms and practices of the Court of Chancery, serious charges against him were expressed or implied. This caused the Lord Chancellor to state publicly in Court, that a certain statement that had been made in Parliament against him was "an utter falsehood." As the statement had been made by Mr. Abercromby, he, on the 1st of March, moved to obtain leave to establish it by evidence—the result is described by Mr. Fremantle and Mr. Wynn.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, March 3, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

We are still going on swimmingly, and though great exertions are making on the part of Opposition to injure

the character of Robinson's budget, and to lower him in public estimation by trumpeting forth the disappointment in not repealing more direct taxes, yet I really believe he will triumph over it, and that the House of Commons will generally feel that the disposition he has made, taking it in a prospective view, is much the best. Nothing could have been more favourable to him than the discussion of last night, where his adversaries were all contending against one another, and each defending his own snug budget. The open and manly manner in which he again explained his objects, had the effect of rendering any other speech from the Government quite unnecessary.

Although the application of 500,000*l.* to the Church is a most unpopular measure, yet it will be maintained, and no doubt carried; the supporters of it say we shall have a very strong case when it comes to be argued, namely, from the application of the former million, and the advantages derived from it, and the clear and manifest want of further accommodation for the members of the Established Church. The fact is, it will be a discussion for the maintenance of an Established Church against the Dissenters, and this is the only ground on which we can hope for the support of the country gentlemen. I should have been very glad if this measure had never been offered, but I fear it is impossible now to surrender it without great damage to the character of the Government.

The answer is come from Spain (as to the questions put to that Government, adverted to in Canning's first speech), and I have no doubt this will bring forward a full and explicit declaration as to our future proceedings and footing in South America. Cabinets are convened daily, and I should think principally on this important question.

Nothing could have been so disgraceful to a man as the whole of the proceedings relative to the Chancellor on

Monday last Canning completely let him down, and cried for mercy; Peel made an admirable speech, and in the early part of it caught the House and carried it with him; but when he came to touch upon the words used in Court, it was impossible but that he must have failed, which he did. The division for Abercromby was a very large one—he conducted his attack with infinite judgment and effect.

I have no doubt but that in a very little time they will drive the Chancellor out. He is evidently much altered and broken-down, and my opinion is, that you will see Giffard in his place after the termination of this Session.

I understand the Queensbury cause is decided, and in favour of Lord Hertford, who gets millions by it; he has also succeeded within these few day to some other property, amounting to many thousands a year, by the death of the last of an entail, to which his father, the late Lord Hertford, had been put in very many years ago as a residuary of the entail, there being at the time many of the family living, and the insertion being considered more as a compliment than anything else.

I find that he is making a very large Parliamentary influence with a view to office; what department he looks to, or when he prefers his claim, I don't pretend to know. Croker is his chief political adviser and friend, and it is said he is disposed to quit the Admiralty in order to take the command and manage his concerns in the House of Commons. I don't much believe this; I think Croker's character don't stand high enough for such a position, and Lord Hertford must know this.

By the bye, my nephew, John Fremantle, came to me the day before yesterday to tell me that Canning had offered to send him confidentially to South America, furnished with letters to Henry, and other duties; that he was to have no appointment whatever, but his expenses

were to be paid, and he was to be remunerated on his return if they were satisfied with his conduct. He likes the trip very much; I own I should not be particularly pleased with a little excursion to Mexico and back again; however, *on ne peut pas desputer des gouts.*

Adieu, my dear Duke,

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

There was no House to-day; to-morrow notice is to be given that the correspondence with Spain will be laid before the House on Friday next. My nephew just tells me that his intended expedition has got wind and that it is all off, and he is not to go.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Wednesday.

MY DEAR B——,

The two debates of Tuesday and Monday have certainly materially damaged the Chancellor. He has written a letter of full personal apology to Abercromby; but certainly the last question was, as Lord Stowell observed, "by no means a pretty one," and showed an intemperance and wrong-headedness highly disgraceful. I felt, however, that upon a question personally affecting a colleague it would be discreditable and shabby to fight shy; and so, though I might have availed myself of St. David's Day, and the want of notice, &c., I determined, *tout bien que mal*, to *bolt* it, and go thorough-stitch. I have met him twice since, but he has not had the grace to acknowledge it. He is, I hear, highly angry and sulky, and declares that he meant to go out before, but now will stay, to show that he will not be bullied. Still this *cannot last.*

Plunket arrived Monday night, and we received the

next day *half* of Lord Wellesley's long-promised dispatch, in which, at great length, he very eloquently states all the difficulties of the Burial question, but unfortunately breaks off, in consequence of an interruption, before he proceeds to suggest any remedies. Now, as the question in the House of Commons was fixed for yesterday, this might have been highly inconvenient; however, we have to-day had a Cabinet, and, with the assistance of Plunket, have determined to repeal the obsolete law against burying in old abbeys, and to authorize and empower the Protestant clergy to permit the performance of Catholic and Dissenting burials by their respective ministers in the churchyards.

This, I fear, will not remove the evil, as some wrong-headed persons will avail themselves of this right to refuse permission.

The note of the conference between Canning and Polignac, and our note to Spain in answer to the invitation to the Congress, will be laid before Parliament on Friday.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, March 19, 1824,
Six o'clock.

MY DEAR DUKE,

All real difficulties are completely put by for the session, and we have nothing more to do than to get on with our business, and be up early in June. There is nothing moving in the world which is worth telling you. However brilliant and eloquent Canning's speech was last night, it was too vindictive and flippant to belong to the character of a great man, and there was some truth in the last observation of Lord John Russell, that the refusal of

papers was no foundation for a third time courting a public expression of the approbation and thanks of Parliament.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

The accounts of South America are on the whole most inviting. The country is in a very disturbed and miserable state, it is true, and the Indians, who constitute three-fourths of the population, are ignorant and degraded to a degree very little superior to your West-India stock. The general and fixed feeling appears to be that of aversion to Spain, except among some of the higher orders of the priesthood, who have little influence, since the parochial clergy are decidedly in the opposite interest. They have, without the least delay, come to a resolution to abolish the slave-trade, and are about immediately to send over a Minister Plenipotentiary to this country, after whose arrival I apprehend the recognition will immediately take place. Wellesley has consented to our Irish Burial Bill, but wants us extremely to print his dispatch on the subject. Now, though said dispatch is a most eloquent composition, we none of us can see the wisdom of canvassing attack by such an unusual mode of bringing forward arguments in favour of a measure which we have reason to hope no one may oppose.

Plunket means to return to Ireland next week.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

The King, who rarely missed an opportunity of

doing a kind action, and always did it in the kindest manner, on the presentation to him by the Lord Chancellor of his grandson, Lord Encombe, then a youth of eighteen, made so agreeable an impression on the latter, that he thus records the incident: "When he had stood talking to us for a few minutes, Sir William Knighton entered the room, carrying a mahogany box, which he placed on the table, saying, 'This is what your Majesty ordered to be brought when Lord Encombe came.' The King then opened the box, which was lined with dark blue velvet, and contained forty-one volumes of the Regent's edition of the Latin classics, handsomely bound; he read a few of the names—Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, Juvenal—and on coming to Justin and some other, observed that these were perhaps below my reading. I expressed myself, however, as not looking down upon any of the classic writers. The King then said that the case which contained them had been made without pretension to ornament, but that I might like to put it at the bottom of my travelling carriage, adding that the box should be sent home to me, which was done accordingly." [1]

The gift was quite as much a favour conferred on the Lord Chancellor as on his grandson, and went far to reconcile him to the attacks he had lately endured.

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 102.

CHAPTER III.

[1824.]

THE KING OF WURTEMBURG — EAST INDIA DIRECTORS — ALDERMAN WAITHMAN — SERIOUS INDISPOSITION OF THE KING — REPORTED RESIGNATION OF LORD LIVERPOOL — THE ASHANTEES — STATE OF IRELAND AND IRISH DEBATES — TIERNEY'S ATTACK ON CANNING — FRENCH INTRIGUES AT LISBON — ILLNESS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON — MR. PLUMER WARD — STOCK-JOBBING — POLITICS AT STUTTGARD — COMMUNICATION FROM THE LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND — HIS INDOLENCE — VISIT OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS — DISINCLINATION OF THE KING (GEORGE IV.) TO APPEAR IN PUBLIC.

CHAPTER III.

THE Duke of Buckingham occasionally received communications from members of families known to him, residing abroad, in whose welfare he felt an interest, and they endeavoured to entertain him with court gossip, or furnish him with political information. The writer of the following letter was the eldest son of the Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the 3rd Regiment of Royal Bucks Militia, who was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of the county, and the head of a highly respectable Buckinghamshire family seated at Doddershall Park. He died in 1838, and was succeeded by his heir, who was member for St. Maws in 1830.

MR. GRENVILLE PIGOTT TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stuttgard, April 1, 1824.

MY LORD DUKE,

I again avail myself of the permission which I received from your Grace previous to my departure from England to write to you, but rather to show my sense of the kindness of that permission, than in the hope of conveying anything that can be of interest. In fact, during the time that I have been here, no change has taken place in the

public state of affairs. The marriage of the Grand Duchess Helena had been looked forward to with much sanguineness by this Government, as a natural opportunity for a reconciliation with the Emperor of Russia, had he been desirous of one, but the contrary seems to be the case, for it was not until near a fortnight after the intelligence of the celebration of the marriage had arrived by the ordinary post, that General Benkendorff, late Russian Minister at this court, arrived to announce it on the part of the Emperor. He had some time before obtained leave to return to Stuttgard on domestic affairs, his children having all along remained here, and his instructions are to leave it as soon as he can with convenience. The return of M. de Caraman, the French Minister, is generally expected; but it seems to me very uncertain.

The King of Wurtemburg does not seem inclined to swerve from his point. At a large dinner, given by him on the birthday of the Crown Prince, principally to the deputies, on the Prince's health being given, he got up, and in return gave "the constitution." The Chamber of Deputies after a long adjournment, since the 23rd of December, is to meet again on the 24th of this month. Your Grace is probably aware that they assemble only once in three years, and that in consequence of the unwillingness of the majority of the mediatised Princes to acquiesce in what the King of Wurtemburg is disposed to grant to them, a sufficient number did not assemble to constitute an Upper House, and that therefore the whole business of the State is carried on by the Deputies. As Swabia was the part of Germany in which the sovereign nobility most abounded, some of those who would form the Wurtemburg House of Peers are of the oldest and most powerful families in Germany. Prince Metternich is one, and the

Houses of Furstemberg, Hohenlohe, Tour and Taxis, Salm, Solm, Schwarzenberg, &c., &c., are numbered amongst them. Their differences with the King are to come before the diet at Frankfort this session; but as the decisions of that assembly are not celebrated for their promptitude, it is doubtful that they will be so soon arranged.

Although perhaps few countries of equal extent are so favoured by nature as Wurtemburg, producing wine, fruit, and corn sufficient for double its population, and possessing considerable iron and salt-mines, yet, from want of trade, the people are in the greatest poverty, and scarcely able to pay the expenses of the Government. An American of the name of Church, who has already established steamboats on the Lake of Geneva, on the Danube, and on some of the rivers of France, has made a proposition to the Government to establish one between Friedrich's Hafen, on the Lake of Constance, one of the late acquisitions of Wurtemburg, and Switzerland, for the purpose of exporting corn to that country. It was accepted, and Church is now in England for the purpose of sending out one of Mr. Perkins's improved engines.

A short time since, Mr. Wynn most kindly proposed to me to take advantage of my vicinity to Switzerland, to visit it the approaching summer. As there is scarcely anything to do here, and Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of Legation, will probably by that time have returned from England, I shall most gladly accept his permission. I believe that it is his intention, should the King go again to Italy, as is reported, to pass a part of the summer at Baden. No one who can avoid it remains at Stuttgard during the hot months, for being situated in a deep dell, without any river flowing through it, the air stagnates, and the heat and stench are intolerable. Besides, there can be

scarcely a greater privation to a German than to pass a summer without drinking mineral water of some kind. Fortunately for the people of Stuttgard, they have one near, which in taste much resembles our Harrogate, but which they mix with their wine for their ordinary beverage. Both Mr. and Mrs. Wynn are perfectly well, although the season here has been very unhealthy. I beg leave to present my respectful remembrance to the Duchess of Buckingham, and remain, my Lord Duke,

Your Grace's grateful and obedient servant,

GRENVILLE PIGOTT.

The President of the Board of Control continues his revelations esp cting the India affairs of that time.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, April 8, 1824.

I do not know why their Leadenhall majesties are indisposed to my giving Urmston the credit which he has deserved, except from the jealousy entertained by all sovereigns of their subjects receiving honour from any hands but their own.

I have written a letter to the Viceroy of China, which I sent through the India Company, to be conveyed through the Select Committee at Canton, and delivered according to their discretion, adding that the spirit, judgment, and ability which they had displayed throughout this affair convinced me that discretion could not be entrusted to abler hands, and that any instructions as to the circumstances under which the letter was to be presented or withheld were unnecessary.

You would scarcely believe that it was intended to have transmitted the letter, wholly omitting the compliment to the Committee; but this I shall of course prevent. The Patent of Knighthood shall be transmitted, but I think it more honourable to Urmston to speak myself to the King upon it, and have therefore desired an audience, which is fixed for Saturday,

He looks and walks well, but did not seem to me in a very good humour. I do not myself feel the apprehension which you express about Lord Liverpool, as he does not appear to me to have been materially unwell.

Mr. Wynn in the next communication refers to a comedy called "Pride shall have a Fall," written by the Rev. Dr. Croly, and brought out at one of the principal theatres at this period with marked success. He then refers to a radical Lord Mayor of some note in his day, and affords an amusing instance of ministerial regard for Mansion-House banquets under such auspices.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, April 17, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

Have you happened to see Croly's play of "Pride will have a Fall," dedicated (ironically) to "the Popular minister"? His object is, I think, to show his present and future masters that if dismissed, there is another station open and ready for him. In everything he does I see the *claptrap*, and perhaps he is right. I mean to go on Monday to dine with Waithman at the Mansion House, partly because I think Canning right in going, though none of

his other confrères go, and partly because Waithman is a Welshman. Canning is to excuse Liverpool on the ground of indisposition. Peel, Sidmouth, the Duke of Wellington, and others, have gone out of town to avoid it.

The Directors have not yet acceded to the nomination of Lushington, and I do not know whether they will at last swallow the pill, though not a *dainty one*.

I cannot tell you who will be Secretary of the Treasury, but expect Canning to name him through Liverpool.

I cannot conceive why it should signify whether the person who has threatened to resign executes that threat or not. . . . He certainly seems this year more *irate* than usual, and he and all the old Tories complain vehemently of the new liberal system.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

The writer of the following letter refers to an estimable divine then enjoying his *otium cum dignitate* from the labours of an Eton tutorship. He was brother of the Bishop of Bangor, and of Richard Bethell, Esq., M.P. for the East Riding, of Rise, Yorkshire.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, April 19, 1824.

MY DEAR NEPHEW,

I have the greatest pleasure in the kind and affectionate manner in which you have received my suggestions, and I am happy to know that you have at least determined to reconsider the subject. Most earnestly do I pray that your ultimate decision may be such as may be most conducive to your own honour and happiness during the many

years for which I hope, in despite of your gloomy forebodings, you may look to the enjoyment of both.

I know the pleasure you will have in my telling you how much the last fortnight, since my recovery from an attack of this *universal* feverish cold, seems to me to have advanced me in general health.

Apropos to magistracy, should you think there would be any objection to put our Burnham Vicar, Mr. Bethell, into the commission? He holds with this living a Fellowship of Eton College, which places him on something of a higher footing than a mere parish minister. He is of an old gentleman's family in Yorkshire, and seems from his style of expense to have made some private fortune as an assistant and tutor at Eton.

With all this I do not know that he would wish to act as a magistrate; but it might be worth while, in the want we have of such authorities, to make the offer. I would not, however, mention it to him till I know your wishes.

The King had another severe attack of illness, which excited the deep anxiety of his servants; but there was an additional cause of uneasiness in the declining health of the Minister who had so long been at the head of the Government, for his resignation or removal could not fail to bring about important changes.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, April 30, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The illness of the King has been a little more serious than usual; it was a violent inflammation of the chest, and was only relieved by twice bleeding, and other violent reme-

dies. The world are not a little discontented at the disappointment of the drawing-room, and impute it solely to a wish of having the new married couple presented when *he* is first able to hold one.

There is a rumour afloat that Lord Liverpool is thinking of resigning; he certainly was seriously ill when he went to Bath, and thought very ill of himself. I was told (but I really don't know the fact) that the King had within these last two days seen him at Windsor when he came from Bath. The idea is that an arrangement is in progress, *most secretly* conducted, for a new distribution and arrangement of the Government. That of course nothing is to take place till after the close of the Session, and in the meantime Canning is to conduct the Government. There may not be one word of truth in all this, but having heard it, I thought the story worth communicating to you. If one was to speculate on the result of Lord Liverpool's retirement, it must be on grounds the most uncertain. Canning, of course, would take the lead as chief, but he could not in the state of the King's health form a Catholic Cabinet; and if the old school, with Peel and Robinson, were to resist him, I doubt if he would be able, by throwing himself on the Opposition, to form a Government. The Opposition are crying him up to the greatest degree, and certainly look to something favourable from his connexion. The D—— of York hates him, and is afraid of him, but would take him if he could retain the anti-Catholics.

I believe the new bishop is Carr, Dean of Hereford, Vicar of Brighton.

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

May 4, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

We have just decided to move a committee of inquiry into the state of the disturbed districts in Ireland as a ground for the renewal of the Insurrection Act, according to our pledge of last year. There will be a similar one appointed in the Lords. Lord Liverpool has returned from Bath, looking very much better, and professing to be so. That there has been some battle about the bishopric I believe, but I do not give credit to any of the reports of resignation. We do not know any more of the sad business on the coast of Africa than is contained in the accounts already given to the newspapers, and have no further means of surmising the fate of the unfortunate detachment. It is entirely composed of black troops, and merchants, &c., who had volunteered from Cape Coast Castle, to the number of 500. They were much alarmed for the safety of the Castle, but as 40 seamen used to the management of guns had been landed, I should think that with the carronades they may safely bid the Ashantees defiance. I see in the *Courier* hopes expressed for the safety of Macarthy and the other prisoners, but the barbarities these savages had previously committed at some of the villages, make me believe that the death of the unfortunate men would be the best tidings one could hear.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, May 5, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I still entertain the idea that something has been brew-

ing, and possibly may be prospectively hatched. The friends of Lord Liverpool all say he is returned perfectly recovered, and he appears undoubtedly much better; but I know he still holds the language of depression, considers himself as incapable of exertion, and told Herries yesterday that he could not look forward to the fatigues of office, but should be driven to the necessity of retirement. Lord Liverpool is not a man to say that without some cause; he has never before held such language; he is not like the Chancellor, and every one knows that nothing would drive him from office but necessity. You will see a long article from Ireland alluding to this in the *Chronicle*, evidently put in by some one the friend of Canning. The business of last night in the Lords also marks very strongly Lord Liverpool's abandonment of the High Church party—in short, my belief is that he is *thinking* of going; that great exertions will be made by his friends to keep him in, and that for a time they will prevail; but that, before long, his wife's state of health and his own, and the influence which Canning has over his mind, will operate to his determination to retire. Whether Canning will be able to prevail on Lord Lansdowne to separate himself from his party I cannot guess; I am very sure he will not quarrel with Lord Holland, but I am not so sure that Lord Holland will object; but this cannot fit in with the Anti-Catholic party, with the Duke of York at their head, and which is infinitely more powerful than Canning and all the Whigs put together. Nothing can prove this stronger than the result of last night, when the Chancellor thought it worth while *to cry up "The church in danger!"*

The Admiralty are sending out a force immediately off Cape Coast; Sir J. Phillimore goes in the *Thetis*, and a military reinforcement goes at the same time. Lord Melville told me the day before yesterday that he had received an

anonymous letter abusing him and Charles Fremantle for squandering the public money by such an appointment, and saying that the latter only occupied his time in playing billiards, &c.; he sent the letter back to Charles, saying that he supposed it was some disappointed smuggler whose schemes he had thwarted. This will, however, I am very sure, annoy poor Charles very much, who, so far from idling his time, has been wearing his very heart and soul out in the odious and detestable service he is employed upon. I have told him (notwithstanding Lord Melville attaches no importance whatever to it, and told me he thought too highly of him not to be aware of such a malevolent attempt), to prepare a return of his duties, and of such reports as he was called upon to make to his superior and commanding officer, and transmit it to Lord Melville as an answer and refutation of such a foul calumny.

Ever my dear Duke,
Most faithfully yours,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, May 6.

The Committee on Ireland is, I think, well selected. Plunket, Newport, Abercromby, Rice, Althorp, Parnel, Vesey Fitzgerald, W. Lamb, Carew, Wm. Courtenay, Lord Stanley, constitute a majority certainly favourable to the Catholics, and I believe there are others equally so. I have suggested the addition of Charles Grant and Sir F. Acland, which will make it still more decidedly so. Plunket has returned from Ireland low and out of spirits, deeply impressed with the dangers threatening us from the Roman Catholics and the Orange Association, and desirous of stronger measures

to put both down, than can be hoped from a divided and paralysed Administration.

You will, I am sure, though you doubted the propriety of the Unitarian Marriage Act, regret the triumphant majority of the intolerant party, who boast of it as a display of their strength, and a proof how little any power in the country can cope with them. The speech of their leader was *venomous*, and thought particularly so against Liverpool. The latter's pulse is now raised to sixty, and he really looks decidedly better than I have seen him for some time.

I have no idea that there will be a drawing-room on the 13th.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, May 11, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The King is gradually mending, but I cannot believe there will be a drawing-room; he is unable to stand, and he will not act the King of France, and be seated. I rode with Lord Liverpool yesterday some time; he took great pains to say he was quite recovered; but I doubt it. He certainly looks better; but his speech to Herries, and his indisposition to business in the House of Lords, indicate otherwise; at the same time the danger of his retirement is paramount, and I think cannot be got over. We are to grant a Committee to-night, not as Lord Althorp proposes, generally for Irish affairs, but on the affairs of the disturbed districts. I dread this only for the time it may keep on Parliament. I have not conversed with Lord C—— since his interview with the Duke of

York; but he was quite delighted at his gracious friendliness towards him, and spoke quite in rapture of him, and in the very highest good-humour of the Government.

Believe me, ever most unfeignedly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, May 12, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

You see how indifferent a figure we made in the division of last night, and I felt my full share of disappointment from the absence of my brother, of Lord C——, of Sir G. N——, and Sir S. Moreland, none of whom were there, as far as I could observe, at any period of the night. I am the more vexed at this, as I really believe it has been accidental; for I know Watkin meant to come down, and this is a question to which Lord C——'s anti-Catholic feelings in no respect apply. It is not that I think the absence of my connexions from the House will remove me from office—and I am sure if it would, the sooner I was out the better—but I believe it affords grounds to those who try to represent our support to be hollow and lukewarm, and who are disposed to intrigue to our prejudice, and, as far as they can, to weaken our influence both with the Government and the country.

The Committee is, as you will see, extended to twenty-five, out of whom there are only six—Peel, Goulburn, Lord Ennismore, Leslie Foster, Bankes, Sir E. Knatchbull, and perhaps Bagwell—who are anti-Catholic. I expect that we shall sit through the present and deep in the succeeding session.

It is the fashion of the Opposition to bemoan the hard fate of poor Lord Derby in seeing his grandson act for

himself and profess principles of so much attachment to the Church. His speech was really first-rate.

Ever affectionately yours, C. W. W.

Plunket is *much alarmed* as to the state of Ireland, and I am very apprehensive of some *ultra proposition* upon that subject from the D—— of W——, as both he and Westmoreland dropped hints to that effect yesterday. I fear the D—— of Y—— is more *active* than is supposed, and that the reports of Lord Liverpool's retirement are equally circulated by the Opposition and the Orange party.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Friday.

I agree with you, that the necessity of moving our Committee as an amendment was unfortunate. Goulburn had given notice of his motion as a substantive one for Thursday last, and was prevented by the length of debate on Hume's motion. If Althorp's motion[1] had been acceded to, he would have had to have named the Committee; besides which, I really think that the power to inquire into the state of Ireland *generally* is infinitely too wide to be delegated to a select Committee, any more than "into the state of the nation." The present composition of the Committee is, as you will see by the enclosed, seven Anti-Catholic, twenty-one Catholic.

I certainly am surprised that this should be consented to.

I really believe the absences mentioned in my last to have been all accidental. My brother mistook the night of the question. C—— went home at one, being tired.

Sir G. N. regretted that he had not come down, but had not thought it of importance. What had become of Sir

[1] May 11.

Scrope nobody knows. Still, for public impression, the coincidence of so many absences from so small a band was most unfortunate.

Canning's speech excites much comment, and surprises others more than it has done me, as you know that it is the same language he has held to me ever since he has been in office. He wants to soothe the D—— of Y——, who will never let himself be really soothed towards any of us, more than from the teeth outwards. I regret the weather much on your account, as you have so much now to tempt you out, if it were tolerable.

Do you still mean to come up to town, and when?

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Board of Control, May 14, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I perfectly agree in thinking the discussion and measure arising on Lord Althorp's motion a matter of the most important kind. Canning's speech, which was quite uncalled for, showed that he entertained the same opinion of it, and I think he made it for no other purpose than to show that he could at any time, or under any circumstances, connect himself with any Government, not being individually to make this question or any other a *sine qua non* of his support. He spoke under evident embarrassment, but my construction of it was an overture to the D—— of York. It was shabby in the extreme, and deserved the dressing he got from Tierney, who was cheered in thunders by an immense band of Opposition, and no attempt to put it down by the Government. We had a very bad division, and not one of your friends in it.

I had a long conversation with Wynn this morning, who

I found confirming what you stated to me as the feelings and language of the anti-Catholics in Cabinet. I will endeavour to get at the D—— of W——, and see how far he goes upon it. He is the index to the D—— of York, for, rest assured, he will look to the probable change. After all, however, the more one thinks of it, and the more one analyses the composition of the Orange party, the more impossible it appears to be that they can ever form an extensive anti-Popery Government. The D—— of York may kick and threaten, but he will find himself like his father, checkmated on this point, and must submit to a mixed Administration. That the cry of "Church in Danger" could be spread to the most alarming degree to-morrow, I have not the smallest doubt, but if they were to disperse the Parliament, and attempt to build a Government on this cry, they would not find in a new Parliament materials to support it. Nothing but the appearance of some new heaven-born Minister, eclipsing everything now in public life by his power, his eloquence, and influence, could support such a Government. I was not sorry, I own, to hear Canning properly chastised, first, because I think his assumption and individual lust of popularity most odious, but also because I thought the whole tenor of his speech dirty and intriguing. The composition of the Committee is most favourable to the Catholic interests, and will relieve us very much as to future discussion on the Insurrectionary Act. They will, of course, report in favour of it, and few of the Irish will be disposed to contend against its enforcement. The language of the Opposition, as you say, is vehement on the subject of Lord Liverpool's retirement, which they studiously spread abroad. I don't believe in it, notwithstanding the line he took on the Unitarian question; depend upon it, the D—— of York will see the danger of his going, and prevent it while the King reigns.

The King is somewhat better, but I very much doubt his coming to a drawing-room. You have very little idea how very nearly he was gone; for three days he never spoke, and the greatest doubts arose as to his conquering the inflammation; this is now subdued, but the greatest weakness prevails, and the strongest disposition to further inflammation. All this was kept in the most profound secrecy; Halford going in the night to Windsor, and being back to his London patients in the morning, that it might not be known. Under these circumstances, every hour strengthens the power and influence of the D—— of York, but he knows too much of political characters, and of the individuals now leading the country, to be tempted to take any step hastily. I am only surprised, and that to the greatest degree, at his undisguised expressions to your son. Adieu, my dear Duke, depend upon hearing from me whenever I have anything to tell you.

Ever most unfeignedly yours, W. H. F.

Mr. Fremantle is quite right in representing this last Parliamentary struggle for Catholic Emancipation as full of excitement for all engaged in it, and there is no doubt that the strong party that spoke and acted against this measure looked to the Duke of York, whose opinions were well known, as their leader. The state of Portugal for a time diverted public attention.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, May 22, six P.M.

MY DEAR B——,

I have little time to write, having been engaged every moment since I was out of bed, with the exception of an

hour which I had the pleasure of passing in the D—— of Y——'s antechamber, he having appointed me at one, and I going away at two without seeing him ! ! !

Our accounts from Lisbon seem to establish a conspiracy by the Queen and Don Miguel to compel the King to abdicate, which has entirely failed, owing to Beresford's all but forcing his way to the King immediately. I believe the whole to have been planned and fomented by Hyde de Neuville, for many reasons. He immediately declared against it, and offered the assistance of the French troops, and indeed wrote to press them to enter Portugal to protect the King.

This has been the main object which he has been contending for ever since the occupation of Spain, though disavowed by the French Cabinet, which declares disapprobation of conduct they in all probability have instigated. The falsehood and duplicity of that Court really exceeds all belief. At the same time, they at Lisbon press and recommend an expedition against Brazil, while in Brazil they are offering the Emperor the assistance of a French squadron. We shall accept their disclaimer of Hyde de Neuville's design of advancing French troops into Portugal, notifying to them at the same time that it is what we could not tolerate if attempted. Beresford has the offer of being Minister of War and commanding the army, which he will probably accept. Spain has refused our offer of guaranteeing Cuba, and urges the *probability* of her recovering her South American possessions, and the consent of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France to open conferences at Paris to establish a mediation, which consent France denies.

Ever affectionately yours, C. W. W.

We had a full Cabinet; but Liverpool, Wellington, Peel, and Huskisson, all looking extremely ill and invalid.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, May 22, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You see Lord Lauderdale has carried his Bill, though opposed by the Chancellor and the party attached to him. We shall see what will be done on Monday. I have no idea that Lord Liverpool will make any very strong stand on the occasion, though he supports the motion. The Catholics from Ireland are playing the very devil with themselves by sending petitions (now on their way), requesting that no Orangemen should hold office, no Catholic pay tithes, and other demands equally violent and objectionable, and which must put the game completely in the hands of the anti-Catholics here; the excuse given is their utter despair of anything being done, and disgust at the delay in attending to their complaints.

The Duke of W—— has been most alarmingly ill, and was not out of danger yesterday; it is kept a profound secret. On Wednesday or Thursday, I don't know which, he was seized with a violent bowel attack, which was with difficulty removed by calomel (*I believe*). On Thursday he was better, but yesterday had a relapse, and the fear was that it was a cholera morbus. I have not heard to-day, and should not be told the truth at the door. I may possibly hear before the post goes out.

Ever yours, W. H. F.

P.S. The King did not suffer from the drawing-room.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, June 3, 1824.

I can add but little to the accounts which you will read in the papers of the further progress of affairs in Portugal.

The King's retreat to the *Windsor Castle* appears to have been extremely well conducted, and till he felt that he was there in perfect security, it was quite impossible to induce him to sanction any vigorous measures. The Infant Don Miguel, who seems to be a complete specimen of that mixture of ferocity and cowardice which characterizes his illustrious house, had, up to the time of the King's embarkation, proceeded in his arrest of persons to the number of 1000, most of whom it was supposed he intended to have massacred. Still he obeyed without resistance the order to repair on board the *Windsor Castle*, where he was kept in confinement that night. It was originally proposed that he should be sent to England in the *Lively*; but to this he objected furiously, drew his dagger, and said he would not be carried alive, &c. &c.; so, by a sort of compromise, he was put into a Portuguese frigate, and is sent to Brest under the command of Captain Elliot of the *Lively*. How he will be received in France remains to be seen; but we are well rid of him. The Queen is to be sent out of the country; but it is believed that she will not be admitted in Spain, where they are afraid of her intriguing and active spirit, and will therefore be quartered in Italy.

It is most extraordinary that the name of Lord Beresford is not once mentioned in Thornton's dispatches, or the slightest reference to the command of the army. What this means I cannot conceive, but suspect some quarrel between him and Thornton.

The accounts from Ireland are very bad. The Catholic Association seem determined to goad the Government into a prosecution, and all the Orange Party are representing the expectation of insurrection in the summer, and the organization as far more formidable than at any former period, eagerly anticipating the period when the *Loyal* may "*put them down.*"

The Insurrection Bill is, as you see, brought into the Lords, which I regret the more, as there is no chance of its coming down to us before this day sevennight, and I foresee that it may very possibly interfere with my joining your party on the 14th.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, June 5.

MY DEAR B——,

If you want to receive more letters, you should not wait till you have three to acknowledge at once. The reports about Lord L—— are certainly very general, but I do not myself believe them. He certainly has within this hour been discussing the comparative advantages of bringing forward measures, and of deferring them to the next Session, not at all in the spirit of a man who considers his own continuance in office as at all doubtful. On the subject of S. America there has not been any discussion since Easter. True it is that I believe that the Chancellor has at length irritated even L——'s endurance, and that in consequence there is less cordiality between them than at any former period. Upon being asked yesterday how L—— was, the answer of E—— was, "Damned ill and damned cross."

Beresford and T—— have, I think, decidedly quarrelled. The former opposed the King's embarkation in the *Windsor Castle*, and wished to adopt milder measures towards the Prince, whose name he meant, I believe, to make use of in command of the army. He represents T—— as influenced extremely by Hyde de Neuville, which I fear is the case, by means of Lady T——, who has not only made T—— marry her, but now continues to horsewhip him whenever he disobeys her mandates.

Her going to Lisbon is a distinct breach of the condition on which Canning gave him the mission.

The Conde de Subserra is the person to whom you allude as the traitor to whom Beresford objects so violently. He has at all times been most active in the interest of France, whether republican or royalist, and has, I fear, now got very much round T——. At present Beresford is, I believe, out of favour, and will have little chance of the command of the army as originally offered him. He is, however, well satisfied with the nomination of the Conde de Villareal, the present Minister here to the War Department.

Among the numerous guests invited by the Duke of Buckingham to his house at Stowe, was the writer of the following letter, Robert Ward, who, after his marriage with the relict of William Plumer, Esq., of Gilston Park, Herts., took the additional surname of Plumer. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and having studied for the bar, rose in that profession to the dignity of a Welch judge; but this position he abandoned for that of Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. From the year 1807 to 1811 he was a Lord of the Admiralty, then to 1823 a Clerk of the Ordnance, and subsequently Auditor of the Civil List. He was High Sheriff for the County of Herts. in 1832, and was again married in the following year to the widow of the Rev. Mr. Okeover. Mr. Plumer Ward attained great celebrity as an author as well as a statesman, through the publication of his *History of the Law of Nations*,

and one or two works of fiction—*Tremaine, De Vere,* &c. He died a few years back, leaving one son, Henry George (by his first wife, Catherine Julia, daughter of C. J. Maling, Esq., of Hilton, Durham), who was sent by Mr. Canning to acknowledge the Mexican Republic, and was afterwards Secretary to the Admiralty. His biography —including his letters and diaries, with some minor productions—edited by the Hon. Mr. Phipps, was published in 1850.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ. TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hyde House, June 10.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

I am quite sorry to be here when perhaps time presses for the marquee, should the Duke of Wellington comply with the request I have made for it. I only received your Grace's letter this morning, and wrote instantly to Lord F. Somerset, Sir H. Burgh, as Surveyor General, and to Sir H. Hardinge. I begged Lord Fitzroy to acquaint the Duke that you had left it to me to make the request, because you did not know whether there was any official impropriety in it, and you therefore left it to me to decide from what I might know to be the practice of the office; and as I mentioned the compliance of Lord Mulgrave in an exactly similar matter, where he lent several large marquees to White's Club for their Wellington *fête,* I thought myself justified in telling the Master General how much I knew it would oblige you. I mentioned some other cases I remembered, both to Lord Fitzroy and Sir Ulysses, and I put it this way, lest the Duke might inquire why your Grace did not ask him yourself. I hope I have

not done wrong. I begged Lord Fitzroy, as a friend, to lose no time in giving the order, if the Duke permitted it, that the tent should be sent to Buckingham by the Paddington Canal, as I know no time should be lost to make it available for your Grace's purpose. Sir John Swinburne's family are all here, or I should have had pleasure in going to town to accelerate this little affair. I only hope it will end as you wish.

I have heard the name of Chuckle and Co. for a certain family, but think it so ludicrously appropriate, that I laughed heartily, as well as at the supposition that Chuckle, either senr. or junr., could do all that you describe as necessary to bring a regiment of Yeomanry to perfection.

You are very good, my dear Lord Duke, to allow me the privilege of occasionally writing to you, of which I shall be glad sometimes to avail myself. Some of my letters report that the Liverpool and other petitions are by no means considered an offence by C—— and Co. (N.B. this does not stand for Chuckle and Co.). What your Grace remarks on the Stock Jobbing Lord and his influence is but too momentously true. He was in the whole secret of their trade, by which he pocketed many thousands as a Bull, after which he turned Bear, and pocketed almost as many the other way. Letters have been shown, as is said, of his own fabrication, stating the grossest falsehoods, which for the day produced their effect. Had he lived in Pope's time, perhaps my unhappy namesake might have been spared by the substitution of his designation in the line,

"To Ward, to Waters, Chartres, and the Devil."

With all esteem and good wishes for your *fête*,

I am, your Grace's obliged,

R. WARD

I am by no means affronted, for my office being supposed to be confined to London, does not frank.

As it was getting near the end of the Session, several political rumours were set afloat, and amongst them that of the retirement of the Premier, for the fiftieth time.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, June 12, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I was particularly anxious to have spoken last night, but the extreme length of the speeches of the lawyers rendered it impossible to attempt it. Canning's speech, however, approached sufficiently to my opinions to cover my vote tolerably satisfactorily.

Lord Liverpool, as soon as the Session is over, is to go to Walmer for three months, and then to Bath, which he hopes may set him up again. I have myself no expectation of his quitting office while it is possible for him to continue, and this both on public and private grounds. He has no habits of any but official employment, and I cannot imagine his being happy in retirement. On public grounds, the difficulty of replacing him in any view of politics, whether Catholic or Orange, would be equal. If the Catholic interest were to predominate, of course either Robinson or Canning must become Premier, and unite First Lord and Chancellor of the Exchequer, but who would then be Minister for the House of Lords? Probably the best arrangement would be for Canning to fill those offices in the H. of C., and Robinson be Secretary of State in the Lords. This, however, in the present elated temper of the ultras and D—— of Y—— is perfectly impossible.

The Catholic party might, perhaps, try to put Lord Bathurst forward for the Treasury, but from his time of life, his indolence, &c., he could only be a kind of Portland-like King Log, and he must have some man of talent to resist Lansdowne, Grey, and Holland. The obvious course would be to send Peel to help him; but who, then, would hold up the standard in the Commons?

I regret much to be confined in town, not so much by the Irish Insurrection Bill, on which I would not scruple to turn my back, but one to sanction the exchanges in our treaty with Holland, which I have myself brought in, and which I must attend in order to explain and defend the treaty against Hume and two or three *ejusdem generis*.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

MR. HENRY W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stuttgard, June 13, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Some time ago you expressed to me a wish to purchase a collection of minerals, if anything good of the kind was offered for sale in this part of the world. Hitherto my inquiries had been fruitless; but I now send you a catalogue, which the *wise* inform me is well worthy of your attention. It consists of three parts, shells, minerals, and petrifactions. The person who examined them for me reports the two first as nothing very extraordinary, but as containing many articles valuable for a young collector The petrifactions, on the contrary, he tells me are very curious, and some of very great rarity. The collection belonged to a person who died last year, and who refused 400*l.* for it; but it may now be had, I believe, for considerably less than half. I have sent Pigott for a short time to Vienna, I would otherwise have made him translate the

catalogue; but, even in its present shape, most of the articles will be intelligible to you. If, on examination, you are disposed to become a purchaser, I will make the best bargain I can for you. They are to be sold in a manner suited to German *lenteur* and *réflexion*. They are now *put up* at a hundred louisdors, and whoever advances the most *on* or *before* the 31st of July is to be the purchaser. There will be time for you to receive an answer to any further inquiry you may wish me to make.

I have little news to send you from hence. I go on here, if not agreeably, at least quietly and comfortably, and we are wise enough to appreciate these merits. I some time ago thought that my removal would be immediate, but it now appears settled that the new appointments are not to take place till next spring. If this is the case, I shall have the pleasure of seeing you all in England on my way there. Had I been sent there in this summer or autumn, I meant to have gone there straight.

The Emperor of Russia and the other Sovereigns still bother us, but they at last seem to be growing tired of it, and to find that the presence of their Ministers is not considered by the King or people as sufficient advantage to give up a form of government with which they are both equally satisfied. Metternich sees the impossibility of doing away with the constitutional governments, and seems now to have modified his views, to preventing the publicity of the debates. In this he will likewise probably fail. You may conceive in what a state of thraldom the press is, when you hear that the Austrian *Chargé d'Affaires* complained the other day at my table of the ill-conduct of the censor of the press, in having allowed the insertion of an article reflecting on the *Partition of Poland*

All historical works must be new modelled to the taste of the sovereigns, or we shall have the Emperor of Austria making representations to the Government for allowing the Tubingen students to read works reflecting in an improper manner on his great predecessor, Julius Cæsar.

I continue to like Pigott[1] as much as ever; he is a most invaluable person, and I shall be, on my own account, very sorry when we are to part. I trust, however, that in the course of a year or two you will be able to get him an appointment. It is yet too early to make an application in his favour, as Canning would not probably be able to attend to it.

Ever yours most affectionately,
H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Irish affairs continued to excite a great deal of attention, and were particularly a source of trouble to the Government. The following information of the state of the country coming from the fountain-head will be found worthy of notice.

THE LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Phœnix Park, June 14, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Your Grace, I trust, is aware of the various circumstances in my difficult and arduous situation, which obstruct my free communication on many interesting subjects.

On one topic, which produced a most kind and friendly letter from your Grace, I was precluded (as Plunket can

[1] Mr. Grenville Pigott, the writer of the letter presented in a preceding page.

inform you) from the possibility of giving any information. The hero of that day having since taken the holy order of of the Flagellants, is not likely to occasion further disturbance.

The situation of Ireland, although very unsatisfactory, is certainly much improved; and foundations of greater improvements have been firmly laid. The Committees of Parliament have done much good; and, if vigorously and fairly pursued, may effect a permanent settlement of this distracted country.

The present violent collision of the two ultra parties, or rather factions, Orange and Papist, is a crisis of the disorder, which was necessary to their mutual dissolution; an event which I think is fast approaching, and which must be the preliminary of any settlement of peace.

There is an alarm of scarcity of provisions in some parts, especially the Western districts of Ireland; but the distress is local, and must be merely temporary. I have, however, closely observed it, and am prepared to meet it.

The disturbances are greatly abated in Munster. Mr. Blackburne returned from Limerick to-day; and, on his report, I shall relieve the city and part of the county of Limerick from the pressure of the Insurrection Act immediately. The possession of the power of applying that statute is however most useful and necessary, at least for the present year.

Some transactions have occurred at Enniskillen (of an Orange tinge) that will amaze the civilized world. The matter is, however, in a fair course of justice, in consequence of my *very arbitrary* interference.

I received your Grace's letter respecting Lord Castlecoote, to which I need not say that I was disposed to pay every attention; but long before I received it an arrange-

ment had been made for the disposal of the Queen's County Militia. I hope you will favour me with your commands at all times.

Ever, my dear Duke,
Your Grace's affectionate and obliged
Friend and servant,
WELLESLEY.

You will observe that I distinguish "Orange and Papist" from "Protestant and Catholic."

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, June 16, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I send you an extract of Courtenay's account of the destruction of poor Macarthy, whose negligence seems to have been past conception. I regret to see from a private letter which Courtenay has sent me that Major Chisholme seems to be no better—totally without decision or resolution. Indeed he speaks of the whole military force as a burlesque on the name of soldiers.

I have just been riding with Lord Liverpool, and think him decidedly better in appearance; besides which, the being able to ride is in itself a proof of amendment in his local complaint.

The Chancellor, as you will see, still continues to beard him. I am surprised that with Gifford ready to succeed he should submit to it; but, perhaps, the Chancellor out of office, but still known to be the D—— of Y——'s cabinet counsellor, might be even more dangerous, as there would no longer be any check upon him.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, June 19, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I think you would do well to write a civil note to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was so very obliging about the tents. He really entered at once into your wish, and gave the order before he even asked the Duke of Wellington.

We have now, thank God, got rid of our Parliament; that is, we meet for merely a necessary conclusion on Monday, but the Parliament it is expected will prorogue on Thursday. Everything closes in the most favourable manner, but how we shall meet again I won't pretend to say; it all depends entirely on Lord Liverpool's health. He says he feels a great deal better, and is in better spirits, but the disease remains, and will not be cured, and, as I hear, must and will increase. Canning evidently *holding off* from us, and I think displaying this in public. Whether it proceeds from a dislike to our connexion, or only being *bored* with Wynn, I won't pretend to say, but certainly the Government generally are not cordial. Nothing, however, will arise from this as long as Lord Liverpool governs, and when he surrenders, the seeds of dissolution are so thick that no one can say how they will be scattered or mixed up.

The language of the Tory party, both of the old and present Court, is universal and undisguised abuse of Canning. The King is better, and his improvements at Windsor are begun.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, June 24, 1824.

MY DEAR B——

The silence of Lord Wellesley is really unparalleled. Conceive that since the 20th of May, when he wrote that he required nothing but the renewal of the Insurrection Act, and another request (since supplied to him), not one line, official or private, has been received from him.

Peel has written to beg most pressingly for some communication before our debate on Thursday next; but the disadvantage which results is incalculable. The only accounts of the present transactions which reach the Cabinet are those from Finch on Lord Combermere's staff, addressed to Sir Herbert Taylor, and private communications to Goulburn, all tinged with a deep Orange hue.

That party now exult in the expectation of an explosion on the 12th of July—that then that must be put down by force—a new Lord-Lieutenant sent, and things return to their old train of governing Ireland as a garrisoned conquered country.

We have accounts from Paris that the Cortes, in consequence of the King's refusal to go to Cadiz, produced his letters to the Duc d'Angoulême, declared him in a state of mental alienation, and nominated a Regency according to the provisions of the Constitution.

A'Court's despatches, however, have not yet arrived, and till that is the case, we do not know how far to depend upon this information, which comes from Chateaubriand.

I wrote to Plunket last week on the subject of the mischief which results from Lord Wellesley's silence.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Mr. Wynn's next communication refers to the visit of the King and Queen of the Sandwich Islands to this country. Both died shortly afterwards.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, June 26, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

Agreeably to my promise to the Duchess, I send her the print of Poodle Byng and their Sandwich Majesties. I am sorry to say that those royal personages are said to be in a bad way from the measles.

Sir C. Stuart's despatches give a very indifferent account of their royal brother of France, whom he mentions to be nearly blind and in a state of slow but progressive decay. The management of affairs is falling entirely into the hands of Monsieur, who has adopted so much more moderate a line of conduct than that which he had previously adopted, that there is much less apprehension of a change of system in the event of a demise of the crown, than was formerly entertained.

Our King looks well, and in high spirits. Lord Liverpool much better; but the Duke of Wellington looks dreadfully ill, and, as I hear, complains of never sleeping.

Ever most affectionately yours, C. W. W.

The King displayed a reluctance to appear in public, but went to visit the Duke of Wellington on the evening of the 24th of June, and closed the Session in person on the following day. A week or two later there was a grand review in Hyde Park, at which his Majesty did not

appear, though then at Carlton Palace. In excuse it must be acknowledged that the weather was most unfavourable, and soldiers and civilians got a thorough soaking; but his absence from such ceremonies began to be marked, and created an unpleasant feeling.

CHAPTER IV.

[1824.]

ILL HEALTH OF LORD LIVERPOOL—OPINIONS OF LORD HERTFORD, J. W. CROKER, PEEL, LORD LIVERPOOL, DUKE OF WELLINGTON—THE KING AT APSLEY HOUSE—QUARREL OF CANNING AND CROKER—STATE OF AFFAIRS IN PORTUGAL—MORIER AND THE SOUTH AMERICAN MISSION—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S OPINION OF MR. ROBINSON AS A STATESMAN—STATE SECRETS—CANNING'S DESIRE TO PLACE MR. HUSKISSON AT THE HEAD OF THE INDIA BOARD—RUMOURED RETIREMENT OF LORD LIVERPOOL—POLITICAL INTRIGUES—DIPLOMATIC CHANGES—INDIAN APPOINTMENTS—DISPUTE OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH THE COURT OF DIRECTORS—DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII.—CANNING'S POSITION IN THE CABINET, AND VISIT TO IRELAND—AFFAIRS IN SPAIN, SWEDEN, AND THE PARVENU.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Duke of Buckingham, shortly after the entertainment at Stowe, proceeded on a tour through Scotland in company with Professor Buckland. The gossiping communications about to be laid before the reader, followed him; they will be found to contain some curious sketches of cotemporary political characters.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hyde House, July 4, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

You are most exceedingly kind to write to me so confidentially as well as so pleasantly. I would have answered your letter immediately, but that it announced your departure from Stowe as last Monday, and no thanks or gossip of mine could have reached you in time. Indeed a note from Mrs. Morgan about some music I was to get for her, asserted by the same post that your Grace had actually set off for Scotland. The nothings, however, which I have to say (though my sense of your kindness is not nothing) will keep cold though they reach you not till you have turned your back on the Hebrides.

I am glad to find that the festivities, and, what is more,

the vigils of Stowe, have only made you feel more vigorous. I can, at least, conceive your own pleasure in diffusing it among so many others; but I beg you will not hit MY old age so hard as you do when you say it made YOURS cheerful to you. I fear I have the disadvantage of your Grace by eight or ten years, and own I felt a little shocked, especially after dancing with Mrs. Wynn and Lady Nugent, to come to things in which age seems to make little difference in the interest.

I would, if I could, treat of the very important points on which your Grace is so good as to open yourself to me in politics, and on which I think few reasonable people who love their country can disagree with you. Lord Liverpool's health is certainly not good, though not so bad, I believe, as many in their fears make it. Wilmot (his secretary) left him at Walmer, as he said, *much better*. Still the pulse is gone back again from the fifty-four which it had reached at Bath, and now vibrates, it is said, between forty-five and fifty, which is infinitely too low, and indicates declining strength. Lord Lonsdale, too, told me he was growing more and more peevish and impatient of contradiction. Lord L——, however, does not think there is any political cause for this, and even disbelieves that there are more seeds of intrigue in regard to anything (certainly not to him) than are generally floating on the surface of—I was going to say party, but it is very difficult now to say what that is.

I have seen Lord Lonsdale twice since your letter, and talking of the ultra policy which many people fear, he said he thought Lord Hertford never was calculated for, and never would succeed as a Minister himself. He had marred some fine points with so many bad ones. At the same time he would always form a powerful support, and

there were about him some men of talents, eager to push themselves, who would not be wanting in their endeavours to avail themselves of the power he could give. He glanced at Croker, whose parts he admired, but of whom otherwise he expressed himself with very little favour. In the House of Commons he thought no ultra party, either in this or another reign, could do anything: they could not even arm for a battle. Peel would not be indiscreet enough to attempt it; and Peel would stand alone. Robinson, it seems, moves with Canning. By the way, talking of Peel and his views this way with Lord Maryborough, the latter thought that he would not be long an object of speculation any way. It is certain he is a very shadow, and there are great fears of his lasting. His looks at present are those of a scarecrow, but this is owing partly to an operation he has sustained upon his eye, the small veins of which he was persuaded to have cut in order to remove a tumour, instead of which the blood has extravasated, and he looks as if he had been in a row in St. Giles's. People, however, say he is only too fond of his wife. Be this as it may, many in their speculations agree with Lord Maryborough, and place him *hors de combat* as to futurity. Meanwhile I wish he had trusted his own taste rather than whatever architect he has employed, for his house on the river is the counterpart of Baring's in Piccadilly. Your Grace should have invited him to Stowe.

To return to politics, Lord Lonsdale thought Lord Liverpool on the whole safe, nor did he conceive Canning either meditated or was inclined to do anything to interfere with him, whatever others might. But the chief of those others is the Chancellor, who, though if Lord L—— were out, he might obtain some supporters, could gain none in the way of intrigue to force him out. Besides, the Chancellor him-

self cannot perhaps much longer be counted upon, and must yield to age. The D—— of Wellington rallies, and falls back, and rallies again. It is grievous to think how precarious all these important people are, and how few there are capable of succeeding them. The Duke is higher than ever, it is supposed, with the King, and it is not incurious to observe that he is a sort of link between the King and some of your Grace's old friends. His civilities to Lord Grey and the D—— of Bedford—to the former particularly—in the affair of the Government House at Plymouth, have not gone unremarked, any more than that the same Lord Grey was at the dinner at Apsley House. I do not find, however, that the King was particularly, that is personally, very attentive to anybody. In going he seemed designedly to speak to no one, when Lord Londonderry, to whom he had not spoken at all, made a marked push to intercept him, and placed himself so pointedly in his way, that he must have tumbled over him, had he not moved. This threw them in collision, and obtained a "How do ye do?" for the marquis, the only one he got.

Lord Maryborough was at the dinner; only, however, as he said to me, because he thought he was the King's guest, not his brother's. He seems to agree very much with your Grace in your view of the Catholic question. He says the Catholics themselves have so mismanaged it, that it is a totally altered question, and its best supporters (he, you know, was warm for it) might abandon them. I quite think with your Grace, that perhaps Lord Grey himself, if he were Minister, could not carry it. Still more, therefore, that it ought not to prevent men who have no other source of difference, from uniting to keep the vessel steady. That the Whigs, however, *as a party*, will never succeed to power, seems the opinion of all my friends, however sub-

divided themselves.[1] The little talk there is, is of Lord Lansdowne, and that is fainter and fainter; and if Lord Liverpool sinks, either from ill-health or intrigue, the strongest speculation is, I think, for Canning's being Minister, whether the Duke of Wellington be the nominal head of the Government or not. Still the latter has, I believe, contrived to beat C—— in the Cabinet in some points of policy, particularly South America; but of this your Grace knows more than I.

Apropos to this, you will probably too have heard that Hervey is recalled. This is a fact, though the papers are battling about it *pro* and *con*, and Fremantle asked C. Wynn to tell him if he knew, to which Wynn replied that he really did not. If so, it is a departmental measure of Canning's own, and indeed I am told that C—— has been strangely embarrassed by the want of information and meagre state of H——'s despatches, and still more by the eagerness to acknowledge, manifested without data afforded. I cannot, however, believe that the extract of a letter, purporting to be his, published in the papers, and pledging his Government to a certain line of commercial policy, is genuine. Morier was said to be his successor designatus (Hajee Baba Morier); but this I know not from authority, and there was a report yesterday that he had declined. My son, however, has been officially, though privately, informed of Hervey's recall, and ordered to hold himself in readiness to start in a month. No frigate has yet been asked for, and Sir G. Clerk told me that there was no truth in the story that Canning had ordered his office not to correspond with Croker. The ground for it was, that he had desired the correspondence might be all official, not private. I need not ask you, my dear Lord

[1] They were in error.

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Duke, for obvious reasons, that what I have told you concerning Hervey may not be mixed with my name. Soon, and there can be no secret about it. My son is peculiarly concerned at it, as he can never, he says, be attached to a leader he likes better.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hyde House, July 5, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

Ecce iterum Crispinus, but merely to add to my letter of yesterday what the postman's bugle made one forget, that Portugal has, I believe, applied to our Government for the loan of an armed force, without which she says she cannot secure herself against insurrection, and for which she will apply to France if refused by England. It should seem her fear is not of a Radical, but a party revolution, probably instigated by the Queen's faction.

Your Grace probably knows all this better than I, but I take the chance of its not having reached you in your change of place. I had heard, indeed, in town that 6000 Hanoverians had been ordered to be sent to Lisbon, to [be under] the command of Beresford; but not knowing the authority, I was not prompt to mention it. My son, however, tells me of it now (on the testimony of one *who saw the despatch*), that the demand, as I have related it, has been made, though he heard nothing of a Hanoverian force. His friend, Lord Eliot, writes him word that he is going to be married immediately to Lady Jemima Cornwallis, but I suppose in the Highlands this is beyond the sphere of interest. It may be equally so that there is some chance they say of Lushington's going to Bombay yet. At least we are told that a change in the feelings of the directors is *gently producing* itself at the India House. If he goes,

probably Planta will succeed to the Treasury, and then the two noble Lords, Howard de Walden and F. Conyngham, who *now repose together*, will have separate and better beds.

Repeating my wishes for all good to yourself and the Duchess, I am,

Your Grace's obliged friend and servant,

R. WARD.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, July 11, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Ministers are breaking up, and every one preparing to quit town. The public are convinced that Liverpool will not meet another Session as Prime Minister; I should agree in this, if I saw the possibility of forming a Government without him. The King is become violent *anti*-Catholic, and is extremely angry with Lord Liverpool for suffering the D—— of Norfolk's Bill to be carried in the way it was. The Duke of York is outrageous upon it, and takes every public opportunity of expressing his resentment and anger.

Wynn was to have an audience yesterday; I have not since seen him.

I am, my dear Duke, most unfeignedly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hyde House, July 16, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

While you are contemplating pastoral life, and preparing for grouse in the Highlands, we have been serving our country here in the less unconstrained business of gaols and sessions; *apropos* to which, they have made me a

visiting magistrate at Aylesbury. I have, however, no county news for your Grace. There is absolutely nothing that I can find politically interesting, and not even a scandal, which is the next thing to it. Lord Liverpool is, however, decidedly better. His pulse has got up sometimes to above sixty, and continues always at or above fifty-eight. The great Cabinet questions are Lisbon, and still evidently S. America. I told your Grace of an expected merry dinner, at which Canning was to meet Matthews and Colman. Matthews certainly played his part; all the rest as mute as fishes. C——, though amused and often laughing, added nothing of himself. He was indeed evidently *reveur, distrait*, and, I should say, low. He stayed very long, but was often closeted, or rather windowed, with Huskisson and Stratford Canning. The whisper is, that he has been strongly opposed in the Cabinet by the Chancellor and Peel upon Portugal, but that he, Lord Liverpool, and the Duke joined, and overruled. S. America, however, is still a bone.

Morier leaves town on Monday; but, to my surprise as well as pleasure, my son is ordered to remain, although he had notice given him to prepare instantly to accompany any one who might succeed Hervey. As Morier knows not a word of Spanish this has embarrassed him, and he even represented officially the necessity of my son's going, after the order to the contrary, and transmitted a letter from Henry, stating his readiness to embark. Morier did this because he at first thought it was some personal consideration to Henry as a new married man that had influenced the delay. To Morier's surprise, however, Planta fairly informed him that the great immediate object was the removal of Hervey, who was committing them unmercifully, and that this effected, *procrastination* was the aim, which

might be defeated by sending out Henry with him, but assisted by the very wants on the part of Morier which he wished to cure. This at best is a strange policy; but it is not for me to criticise, especially perhaps only half informed of the truth, and I need not again entreat of your Grace to keep my secret. They wrote, I am told, a very proper letter to Fremantle on Hervey's recall, and received a very proper answer; but this probably your Grace knows in greater particularity than I. It is believed (but Henry tells me without foundation) that Morier carries out credentials conditionally to become Envoy. My son says he is only and precisely in the same situation as Hervey, and has only additional instructions to disavow the pledges of the latter tending to acknowledgment. So alive are they also to the suspicion of premature recognition, that Canning desired Morier not to take out his wife as he wished, lest it might give *too great an air of permanency* to the mission. My son remains for something more definite.

As to domestic news I learn none, though I hear now and then of little jealousies and indispositions, such as will and must always exist. We think Peel does not like Robinson's progress. Peel and the Duke lean together, which throws (if it does not proceed from other natural causes) Robinson with Canning. Peel is, they say, evidently moody and ungracious with his colleagues; in fact, ill in health. I was not, however, prepared to hear Robinson undervalued by any one; yet the Duke thinks him beyond his place in public opinion, and even asserted he was "a shallow fellow." This was let out by the discreet Arbuthnot, who in the course of his life has read me many a lesson on discretion. No doubt the Duke did not mean him to tell; but tell he did, with or without design I know not; at least I cannot doubt the authority from which I had it.

The same authority informed me that Canning asked him (the authority) what was thought comparatively of Peel and Robinson, and which, if C—— were removed, would be likely to take his place; to which he answered that the second line of *employés* thought though R—— was no doubt a very considerable man, there was nothing in the speeches and conduct which had got him so much reputation, which any of themselves could not have equalled, but that they all thought Peel the superior, though R—— had more popularity in the House. C—— observed he believed that was the truth. The subalterns have noticed a sort of indifference of manner, by no means concealed, on the part of Peel towards Canning.

Although this may be the merest moonshine, and I am now not so near the scene of action as when in Parliament, and more at their elbow, but, contrary to arithmetical rules, a number of single nothings in politics sometimes make up a sum; thence the speculation goes on, that C—— and parts of the Opposition soften towards each other, particularly Lord Lansdowne, but *not Lord Grey*. Again, relying most implicitly on your Grace not to commit me, it has been whispered to me that C—— would gladly get Wynn to India, would he consent, no doubt in order to present Huskisson to the Board; but how your Grace's seat in the Cabinet would then be disposed of has not been made a question. C—— speaks highly of Wynn's abilities, in common with all Wynn's other friends. His wish for H——, therefore, must be at the bottom of this restlessness for his removal. But I am fully aware of the delicacy of this topic to your Grace, and beg, therefore, to be believed, that the kind confidence you reposed in me upon this very subject of my old friend Wynn, whom I have always so much esteemed, could alone make me continue to glance at it. Should C——'s

disposition this way have shown itself already, so as to reach you in an authentic form, I am sensible I may seem even officious in touching upon it; if not, as I am certain of my authority as to *the disposition*, my sense of the confidence with which you have treated me leads me to hope I do not do wrong. It was observed that neither Huskisson nor Wynn was asked by the Duke to meet the King at his dinner. As to India, C—— seems to have always had favourite objects of interposition there; but I own, what I only lately heard, that he had offered the Chief Justiceship of *Madras* to Sturges Bourne, a Privy Counsellor, a member of the Control, a man of fortune, and his own most attached friend, surprised me beyond measure. I understand S—— B—— could hardly answer him with gravity.

And thus ends the little I have to trouble your Grace with. If I have said nothing new, or broken in untimely upon your present more amusing pursuits, I beseech you to excuse it, for the sake of the wish I have to show myself at least sensible of the kind permission you gave me to write to you while absent, and the attachment with which the friendship you have shown me, makes me feel myself

Your Grace's

Very obliged and faithful

R. W.

I dined a few days ago again with Lord Lonsdale. He still thinks everything above very quiet; but would certainly support that ultra Government which you sometimes fear.

I do not find that C—— gains at all with the King. The contrary is the speculation, and that the Duke, if he does not himself sink, would be the Minister, even in this reign. I say, if he does not himself sink, for he looks worse and worse, and evidently has the liver [complaint].

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hyde House, July 16, Evening.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

Since I wrote to you this morning I learn, on the authority of Sir Willoughby Gordon, who is, you know, Mrs. Henry Ward's uncle, that Lord Liverpool has certainly announced his wish to retire. If this is so, your Grace is certainly acquainted with it, and may laugh at me for being so eager to mention it. Nevertheless, I take the chance of its not being sufficiently authentic to be more than classed among the serious *on dits*, a little more probable than common gossip, and therefore within the scope of what you give me leave to write. Sir Willoughby, however, is some authority, from his connexion with the D—— of York; and he told it seriously to my son, by way of accounting for the strange policy about Mexico. He says the Chancellor and D—— of Wellington have acquired a decided ascendancy in the Cabinet, and likely much to influence the appointment of a successor to Lord L——; at any rate they have annoyed Canning very much. If this is all second-hand, and your Grace wishes not to be plagued with second-hand, pray stop me, and I will not bestow so much of my tediousness upon you.

I am again,

Your Grace's very faithful

R. W.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, July 31, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

I have been very glad to hear that you are in excellent health and pleased with your excursion, particularly your yacht. As glad, as I was sorry to find that the Duchess

had been forced to return to nurse herself at Stowe. I have little to tell your Grace, except that Canning has just sent to me to know whether my son would go to Madrid, as Secretary of Legation, instead of continuing in the *ambiguous* character of Commissioner to a State whose recognition by us seems farther off than ever. Planta explained to me that Henry would not return to Mexico till they had determined to acknowledge, and that was now postponed to such an indefinite time, that he would have to wait a very long period. Meanwhile he could serve them much better by going with Lambe to Madrid. I thought there was not a hesitation, and Henry is sent for to see Canning to-day. The truth is, the Duke of W——, the Chancellor, the Lords Bathurst and Westmoreland, and Peel, backed strongly by the King, have completely beaten Lord Liverpool, Canning, and Co., and as resignations are renounced, as they could agree in nothing else, they have agreed to postpone the whole question, and have quietly separated for the holidays. The D—— of W——, though extremely and seriously ill, has been furious against recognition, and has by no means concealed his sentiments, at least so it comes from the Arbuthnot Hotel, whence it spreads to all other hotels.

There is a great move I understand on the Continent among the higher diplomats, with which your Grace is of course acquainted. This is merely departmental, but I find your Grace's prophecy regarding an ultra-Tory party curiously confirmed in what I was told yesterday by a friend who is also a friend of Lord Hertford. Meeting him two days before the prorogation, he asked Lord H—— if he thought Canning would say anything in the House relative to S. American recognition. "I can only say," replied Lord H——, "if he does, it will be his *death warrant*."

Lord Liverpool continues much better. Contrary to his usual reserve, he let out the other day among the subs an inkling of his feelings as to the relinquishment of office. He wished certain questions to be disposed of out of hand, because, said he, I possibly may not be the person to settle them if delayed. But all this is now gone by, and the Chancellor himself no longer wishes for a successor. The Vice-Chancellor is going through a process (very different from those he is accustomed to), for it is preparatory to being cut for the stone. What will be the state of the bar? But I have detained your Grace too long with my nothings, so will only add my sincere wishes that your autumn may give you all the summer promises in the way of health and amusement, and subscribe myself

Your Grace's obliged and faithful,

R. WARD.

More important movements were in agitation, and having exhausted the revelations of one official, the reader may now obtain similar secrets from another source.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Broadstairs, Sunday, Aug. 8, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

The justification of our sending a military force to support our ancient ally the King of Portugal, in a struggle against another party in the interior of his dominions, rests in my opinion exactly on the same grounds on which we armed in concert with the King of Prussia to restore the Stadtholder in 1787, and to put down a party which, acting under the protection of France, and with a hostile disposition to the British interest, had deposed him. On that

question, when Fox declared his entire concurrence in the system on which Pitt acted, he deprecated any discussion of the justice of the cause of either party. That, he said, was not the question a British Minister was bound to look to, but which of them was most likely to promote the interests of Great Britain.

However, this for the present is entirely blown over.

I do not myself at all believe in the resignation so much reported, because it is not the interest of any one that it should take place; and that his health has within the last two months improved most rapidly and materially. True it is that I believe him out of favour, and it is scarcely attempted to be concealed that the liberal policy to which he is now—fortunately, as I think, for the country—swayed, is viewed with the greatest jealousy. Depend upon it that whatever intrigues are going on, have only for their object to introduce some fresh infusion of intolerance. The wish respecting me, which you mention to have been made known to you, is, I think, mere dust, and used as a blind. There is not the least probability, I believe, of the post alluded to becoming vacant. All the reports of the ill health of the present occupier have been industriously circulated, but are, as far as I can depend upon my letters, groundless.

At all events, I am sure that I need not beg of you in this state of things not to commit yourself in any degree. I do not myself expect change, for neither party are strong enough to dismiss the other. The real object is, I think, to alarm L—— and C——, and if possible by that means to strengthen the Chancellor and the intolerant high Tory part of the Cabinet; but no one can believe that that party, if left to stand alone, could maintain itself. The threat held out is, therefore, Lansdowne, on the plea that,

as all the measures are such as have been advocated by the Opposition, old friends might as well be the instruments to carry that line of policy into execution, if executed it must be, as new ones.

I admit that you are at present viewed with distrust, in all probability by both parties; the one dread your disposition to support the Holy Alliance, the other much more strongly your Catholicism. The former apprehension might easily be removed, but the latter will never be forgotten.

In the difficulties which have attended the disposal of the Governor of Madras, we should have been but too happy to put forward as respectable a candidate as Scroggs; but it never entered into my mind to offer it to a man with a very easy fortune, and only one daughter in miserable health, especially after he has quitted so easy an office as the India Board from wishing to have more leisure.

I am now only detained from going abroad by these arrangements about Madras.

I believe I have already told you that the Court is nearly equally divided between Lushington and Malcolm. The Chairs have joined the latter, and mean on Wednesday to propose the removal of Mr. Elphinstone from Bombay to Madras, and the appointment of Malcolm to Bombay.

Both of these I have given notice I shall advise the Crown to disapprove, if the Court should agree to them, and probably we shall be driven to this; but there are some of those who will support Elphinstone in the first instance who express their second wish, in the event of his failure, to be in favour of Lushington.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Aug. 16, 1824.

MY DEAR B.,

The last letter which I wrote will, I trust, in some degree, have damped your appetite for intelligence. Everything has for the present subsided, and I am inclined to think the expressions in the note which I quoted were rather intended to alarm the *Liberals*, and to encourage their opponents, the Ultras, than that they augured any real serious consequence. In fact, the only persons who took the latter line were the Duke, Doctor, Old Bags, C.P.S., and the Orange Lily. . . . However, the measure was, as I have already informed you, consented to, though unwillingly, and full powers are sent out to Parish to negotiate a treaty which will operate as a recognition, and he will then remain at Buenos Ayres as Minister. Meantime I am happy to say that the treaty between Brazil and Portugal under the mediation of England and Austria goes on as well as can be desired. The project proposed by us, at the desire of both parties, is a cession by the King of all rights over Brazil to his son, and a renunciation by the Emperor of the succession to Portugal. The future succession to Portugal to be regulated by the Cortes. Ample constitution and indemnity for all property confiscated, &c. This the Brazilian Plenipos have completely accepted, and are ready to sign. Those of the mother country have stated that their instructions did not admit of their admitting the complete independence of Brazil without a further reference to Lisbon; but there is every reason to expect that the reference will be successful.

I believe I have already informed you of the outline of the diplomatic changes which are in contemplation. Thornton to be recalled from Lisbon, and succeeded by

Sir William A'Court as ambassador. F—— Lambe goes to Madrid. Hamilton recalled from Naples, succeeded by Hill. Foster *vice* Hill; Henry *vice* Foster, and (which is more secret than any secret yet secreted) Lord Erskine *vice* Henry Stratford Canning on a temporary mission to Petersburgh during Bagot's absence. Vesey Fitzgerald to America. So I think the bill for outfits next year will be rather extravagant.

The Directors still continue untractable on the subject of Madras; but this is too long a story to enter upon. The worst of it is, that it detains me at single anchor; as, till it is either settled or adjourned, for two months I must continue at single anchor, and cannot commence my intended continental excursion.

The more I consider, the less do I think any early change probable. I think C—— with L——'s support too powerful to allow the introduction of a foe, and I think that power is viewed with too much jealousy to admit of its being further increased. Your informers, who speak of L—— and Bags as participating in the same feelings, are much mistaken.

Now I have done as you desired, and written you a letter which I am afraid and ashamed to trust to the post.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Sept. 2, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I have been kept on dawdling at single anchor by the Directors on the question of this cursed Madras Government, which I heartily wish transported to a climate still hotter, and my worthy friends from Leadenhall Street obliged to join in the voyage. The great inconvenience is that the Court is divided into two parties, one for Lushington and the other

for Malcolm. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman chose to join the latter, to make it a majority, and for the first time to bring forward a candidate against the wishes of Government. In this way they carried by 12 to 9, first, the removal of Elphinstone to Madras from Bombay; and when that was negatived by the Crown, secondly, the appointment of Malcolm. This has also been negatived, and there we now stand. Lushington's friends, by the junction of some of those who were previously pledged to Malcolm, now consider themselves to be a majority.

The others object to taking Lushington, as it will bear the appearance of accepting a candidate forced upon them by the negative of Government, and desire that we will agree with the Chairs upon some new candidate.

I can only tell them we will not object to this course, if it can be ascertained to be most conformable to the wishes of the majority of the Court; but if they cannot immediately agree on the subject, have strongly recommended an adjournment of the question for five or six weeks, in order to give us all an opportunity of going away to *cool*.

I have acted throughout in communication with Liverpool. C—— has given very hollow support, being hampered by his intimacy with Malcolm, and has stood aloof. The D—— of W—— is completely with us.

I am myself indifferent whether it ends in the appointment of Lushington or of Robert Clive, as it is only for the Government's convenience that I have fought the battle of the first, to whom I should personally have preferred the latter or even Malcolm. The K—— has been in very good humour when I have twice had audiences on the question, but is indisposed to the forcing Lushington down the throat of the Court, which I assured him we had no disposition to do. He suggested Lord Erskine, but

Liverpool fears that this would excite much jealousy, if he were to succeed in preference to Lord George Seymour and Lord Strathallan, as being another instance of the inclination of Government to prefer foes over friends.

I care less for this than for the bad consequence of sending a man in a state of such extreme poverty and destitution to an office so ostensibly liable to pecuniary corruption.

I have *inter alios* closeted your friend Campbell, who was in the first instance pledged to Malcolm, but will now, I trust, promote our objects. Everything else is now quiet, and H. M. Ministers dispersed over the surface of the globe.

Liverpool does not expect the treaty with Brazil to be accepted by Portugal; not because they are not aware of its advantages, but because it might excite popular clamour. We, however, must at all events recognise and treat with Brazil, as next spring the treaty under which we at present trade with them expires and must be renewed.

Ever yours,

C. W. W.

You will ask why Lushington's friends do not now at once bring forward his name. Simply because they cannot keep his supporters any longer in town. My family have been at Broadstairs for the last month, and I with them, with the exception of two visits to town. They are now at Dover, where, if we can go, we shall leave but the two eldest.

My situation has been convenient for intercourse with Peel, who was close by, and Liverpool at Walmer.

The collection of fossils and minerals mentioned in a preceding letter was purchased by the Duke of

Buckingham. Mr. Henry Wynn furnishes further information respecting it.

MR. H. W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stuttgard, Sept. 27.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Fourteen chests of minerals, &c. were sent off a few days ago from hence, and are to be delivered to you in Pall Mall towards the end of next month. I hope that their value will correspond with their weight. In No. 14 you will find a collection of curiosities of no great value, but I thought the unpacking of stuffed crocodiles, &c. would amuse you, and that they would fill up some vacant corner of your museum. I enclose to you the different accounts, which include the original cost, packing, and carriage as far as Mayence.

I have drawn for this sum on Coutts, and I will thank you to give the necessary directions on the subject. The Professor of Mineralogy here gave himself a great deal of trouble in arranging the contents of each case, and in superintending the packing; but would not accept any pecuniary remuneration. I have since heard that he wishes very much to have *Buckland's Geology*. If, therefore, you will send me a copy, I will give it to him in your name. My agent at the Foreign Office, Mr. Bidwell, will forward it. You are not perhaps aware that this country is very rich in fossil bones, and that Cuvier first formed his system here. My friend assures me that your collection of petrifactions contains some very scarce specimens, and he is very anxious that Mr. Conybeare (with whom he is in correspondence) should see them. Pigott has translated the catalogue, which is, however, very imperfect, as there are many articles not mentioned in it. This, with a specifi-

cation of the contents of each case, and two or three specimens omitted by mistake, shall be forwarded to you by the first messenger, and will still arrive before the cases. I shall be very anxious to know how my purchase turns out, being anxious that it should meet with approbation. It is rather unwise my making your mouth water by the enclosed *notice* of one of the first collections in Europe which is now to be disposed of. If you are at all tempted to be extravagant, I will cause *underhand* inquiries to be made at Vienna respecting the *lowest* price, which I understand will be considerably under that mentioned in the paper. The collection is so well known, that I am sure any of the great English mineralogists will give you an account of it.

The newspapers will have informed you that I have at length succeeded in getting my appointment to Copenhagen, but is not to commence till the 5th of January. As I never shall forget that I owe my re-establishment in the diplomatic line to your kindness and active exertions, I feel that I ought now to thank you as much as when I first went to Switzerland. Though Copenhagen is not perhaps in climate and some other respects the most desirable situation in Europe, yet it holds out so many advantages over this place, that I have every reason for thinking myself lucky in having obtained the change; and I hope to be allowed to remain there long enough to give me a claim to the mission to Berlin or Naples. I do not know what route I shall take, whether I shall go from hence to England, or whether Canning will allow me to go for a couple of months to Copenhagen *en garçon*, and then in March rejoin my family in England. I shall settle all this with Charles, *if I see him;* but the rencontre is rather uncertain, as he wrote from Spa desiring me to come, but without giving me any marching route of his flying journeys.

In seventeen days he intends to perform a tour to Heidelberg and back to England.

I shall be very happy to execute any commissions you may wish in the Hock line. For about 100*l.* I could get you a *tierce* of excellent wine (containing 1400 bottles), delivered free at Rotterdam. If this is too great a quantity for you, Lord Delamere and Watkin would, I am sure, take half. I can answer for its being good, as it comes out of the Duke of Nassau's cellars. If you like some in bottle you can have plenty at your own price, from a ducat a bottle downwards. The *grande mode* now is to drink 1822 wine, but I do not like it, nor is it wholesome. Metternich is Jew enough to sell his Johannisberg of that year at 10*s.* per bottle.

Send me your orders, and I will execute them as for myself.

Ever yours most affectionately,

H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

The Directors of the East India Company at this time seemed disposed to oppose the Government; at least, according to the statements about to be printed, they were at issue with the Board of Control.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dover, Sept. 7, 1824.

MY DEAR B.,

Canning commences his *progress* to-morrow. He first means to pass a week with Wellesley, during which, though he professes his intention to avoid it, he means to be obliged to speechify the Catholics; he then goes to Liverpool, to speechify his quondam constituents, and

meet Mrs. Canning and his daughter. From thence to Lowther, where, I conclude, speechify he ever so wisely, he will find all ears stopped to his speeches. He then retunes his pipes at Sir Walter Scott's, and the improved harmony will burst on the gude town of Edinburgh in a manner to be remembered to all succeeding generations.

I have never entered into the detail of our miserable squabble with the Directors, which I am heartily sick of, and, as I have carried the point of showing that they shall not be allowed to dictate to or bully the Government, I am very indifferent whether the discussion shall end in the adoption of Lushington, or some other Government candidate; but I insist on this being decided by Lord Liverpool, as I a little suspect my friend and predecessor to be well inclined to embroil *me* with the Court, in order to open the way to the appointment of another President. I have continued hitherto in every step to carry Lord Liverpool decidedly with me, and I am very glad also to have the support of the D—— of Wellington, with whom I have communicated. The K—— has appeared in extremely good humour at both my last audiences.

We depart from Ostend to-morrow, and proceed straight to Spa.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

Direct to the India Board.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 8, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

We have had, and are still involved in a very serious dispute with the Court of Directors on the appointments

of a Governor to Madras and Bombay. They have behaved most unfairly towards Wynn, and are now endeavouring to justify their contumacy by his proceeding towards them. In this I trust they will fail; for, in fact, he has never had a personal object in the question, and has only been desirous of promoting the wishes of Government by the appointment of Lushington. However, the thing has grown by degrees (which I can't recount in a letter) into a state of great irritation and violence; and I fear, if great caution is not used, and great judgment, that he will not find himself supported by *all the members* of the Cabinet. He was obliged to see the King, and was perfectly satisfied with his interview; but the negative given to Elphinstone and Malcolm has created great irritation.

He has now left the matter to cool, under an assurance from Astell (the Chairman) that nothing shall take place till the end of October, and with a full explanation with Lord Liverpool, both in personal interview and by letter, that the question as to whether Lushington shall or shall not be pushed, must be determined by him, Lord Liverpool. It is now a question of the Government, and he, Wynn, can only act as one of its members. The fact is clearly this, that Canning is not playing fair; I am quite satisfied that the Chairs and many of the Directors are aware of this, and take their line accordingly. The case is one of infinite difficulty, and may involve very seriously Wynn's character and station, if it is not cautiously conducted. I cannot tell you all the bearings of it; but it is quite right you should be fully informed of the state in which we stand. The Court are making the strongest push against Wynn and the Board, and *we* are not popular or powerful enough to resist them, unless we are fairly dealt with and supported by the Government, which I think we are not.

I have dined several times with the King since I have

been in the country, and seen much of him. I think he appears friendly and well-disposed, but he did *not like* the last exercise of his veto on Malcolm till after the grounds were fully explained to him. I have conversed with the D—— of Wellington upon this matter, and Wynn has done the same fully. He decidedly supports the measures that have been adopted.

The Duke of Buckingham returned from his Northern expedition, which included a voyage in his yacht along the coast, and a visit to the islands, references to which will be found in the following communication.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Sept. 13, 1824.

Many thanks to you for your letter. It gave me the greatest pleasure to receive so favourable an account of you. I rejoice that the Northern voyage has turned out so favourably, and I do not at all wonder at the delight you express in Buckland's society, at least if he retains the same active and lively spirits at sea as I have always witnessed on land.

The eagle and basalt shall be most welcome. It is a pity I cannot perch him upon it, as they would suit so well together in my liliputian rock scenery; but he must go to the kitchen-garden below, and the other will look down upon my pudding-stone and flints, as the eagle himself will on the barn-door fowls that he will frighten with his screams.

I am sorry Charles has got into a squabble with his Directors about the preference of Lushington over Malcolm.

To the latter I should most decidedly object, for the simple reason that I want to see no more wars in India or elsewhere. Of the latter's merits as a civilian I know nothing, nor do I hear that there is any very high opinion of them among those who do know them.

You say nothing of Billesden; is it completed? I begin almost to believe that my little *angulus*, which I bought so long ago out of the Cliefden property, but never could complete my purchase for want of a title, is now coming at last into my hands. It is a great object to the arrondisement of this cherished spot.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

I am really better, but not yet what I can call well.

A description from an authentic source of the last days of Louis XVIII. will be found to repay perusal.

VICOMTE DE CHABOT TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Palais Royal, Sept. 15, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

An express from Monsieur reached the D—— of Orleans at the *Ville d'Eu* (near Dieppe) on Monday morning last, urging his immediate return to Paris; we accordingly set off (I say we, for I had gone with him to see Philippe on board for Brighton), and arrived at the Tuileries at half-past eleven at night. The King we found very ill, in his bed, but still likely to go on perhaps for hours. Yesterday, Tuesday, at 2 o'clock, the King sent desiring to see the D—— of O——; they set off, but he was then in a state of stupor, however, at times perfectly collected; but he did not speak to them, indeed they stayed with Monsieur in another room. He then asked them and Monsieur to dine at the Tuileries

at the King's table; his cover was laid as usual, but a large cloth laid over it, his place unoccupied, and the usual attendants behind his chair. At 8 o'clock we returned to the P—— Royal; at four this morning a message came for us to go immediately, as the K—— was worse; found him better on arriving, and at six returned to the Palace. I went there just now; he grows weaker and weaker, but still able to answer when spoken to—his vital strength, poor man! quite astounding. He was urged yesterday to receive the last sacrament; he told them he had no objection, "mais qu'il n'était pas encore temps, les médécins se trompent; je connais mon état mieux qu'eux;" and he proves right. Probably this evening or the night he will no longer exist. Monsieur then sets off directly for St. Cloud, where he stays ten days. The King's household go over to him directly, and the lord in waiting, Comte Damas, actually goes with *Monsieur* to St. Cloud, as his household then ceases to exist. Monsieur is very kind, and seems very well disposed for my friend. The Ministry go on the same, but there is a stagnation of business; for the last three days nothing is done, as the Ministers remain constantly at the Tuileries, in the hourly expectation of the event.

Thursday, 16th, 11 o'clock a.m.

We have passed the last *forty-eight* hours in going backward and forward to the Tuileries, the poor King holding out to the astonishment of all the doctors. We went there for the last time at *one* o'clock this morning, remained till *four*, when he breathed his last. The physician then declared to the first gentilhomme de le chambre "que tout était fini;" and the D—— de Blacas then went up to Monsieur, and said "*Sire*, le Roi est mort;" he, as well as the princes and princesses were in the room. Monsieur went up directly, kissed the late King's hand on his knees, the

rest following and performing the same ceremony; after which *the Dauphin* kneeled to Monsieur, kissed his hand, and the rest of the family did the same. Charles X. then came out, and Blacas said out loud, "*Le Roi*, Messieurs!" and he returned to his apartment, the late King's household following him. The new King remained till seven at the Tuileries signing different papers, and is gone to St. Cloud, where we go in private at three to-day. I have, therefore, no time to say more; but I thought all this detail would interest you, coming from an eye-witness,

And yours very truly,

C.

We are nearly worn out.

I hope next year to be more agreeably engaged, perhaps going in the yacht with you to the Highlands!!

Two or three communications from one of the most industrious of political gossips will greatly add to the reader's knowledge of the state of parties, and of the characters of partisans at this period.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hyde House, Sept. 28, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

As you will have perceived, never was there so dull and unstirring a time. As to the country, by very far the most momentous thing that has happened is Lowndes' famous committal of the Methodist parsons, and Smith's meddling activity upon it. But for this, all Bucks was as dull as a great thaw. Indeed, I know not if the United Kingdom itself has been at all better, especially since his Majesty's

Ministers, to use the expression of one of them, *packed up* their differences for the remainder of the summer, and flew off in their different tangents. That to Ireland challenges most attention, and it must be owned, whatever the object, it at least does not transpire. A visit for information it evidently has not been; and one of mere private friendship to Lord Wellesley, nobody gives credit for. I should like, if I may, to know your Grace's opinion, authentically founded as at least it must be. Mine can only be at second hand; but as far as can be thus collected from C—— himself, it should seem that he is by no means averse to play off one brother against the other, and strengthen himself (if that can do so) by the accession of even so crazy a name as the Lord Lieutenant's against the preponderance of the Duke, which he has but too much felt.

The language he has used in speaking of the opposing and *superior* party in the Cabinet is quite unmeasured. "THEY" have done this, and "*they*" choose to do that, is the mildest sort of phraseology he uses. Neither he nor Lord Liverpool conceal their feeling as to the preponderance; a feeling that breaks out into downright complaints of personal impropriety and unfairness. From this, however, C—— always excepts Peel, who, he says, though he has opposed him, has always done it in a fair, open, manly manner. On the other hand, the Duke says he (Canning) is not to be trusted, and the great *corpus delicti* is not only his disposition to run counter to Lord Londonderry's policy and system, but his seeming personal run at his individual acts, schemes, and friends. The feeling as to this is, I am told, a sort of rallying-point among those friends; and as Peel was by no means one of those, and his opposition stands therefore upon its own foundation, this may account for his excepting him from many of his charges

against his other colleagues. His greatest ally is Lord Liverpool, who, to use the expression used to me, is "Ultra against the Ultras." These are the Duke, the Chancellor, Lords Sidmouth, Bathurst, and Westmoreland, and I believe Lord Bexley, together with Peel. I asked about Robinson, and was told he had shown no fight throughout any part of the contest, but had lost with both sides from indecision. The Duke, however, now rather courts him, after the undervaluing, and, indeed, contemptuous language which Arbuthnot's discretion had allowed to be known about him, and which, I think, I mentioned to your Grace. Out of the Cabinet the Ultras have formidable and avowed supporters in the Duke of York (who is known to speak of the *cowardly* measures of the Government), the Somersets, Lowthers, Lord Hertford, and all followers, to say nothing of the Conynghams, or even the King himself.

Lord Lonsdale, however, I should say, was by no means so ardent as his son; and, indeed, I believe, in no wise *embarked* in any direct party. He is consistent in that firm but reasonable Toryism which his principles always prescribed, but nothing farther. I have a letter from him saying, he thinks Lord Liverpool's resignation not an improbable event; though, like others, he waits to see it before he will believe it. He says, however, Lord Liverpool's temper has become lately more than usually peevish and irritable; that he is on "bad terms with many of his Cabinet," and that, when things are left to his decision, he is careless of the opinion of others. All these things put together, but particularly Canning's undisguised mode of talking of his opponents, with the evident fact that he and the Minister himself are in a minority, may render not untrue, what is surmised upon more authority than mere club or coffee-house rumour, that his visit to Lord Wellesley

(for such it was, rather than to Ireland) might have had ulterior objects in order to form a counterpoise to Ultraism, which time will soon disclose.

Meanwhile, as all is "packed up" for the present, the Duke has been to amuse himself at Mrs. Arbuthnot's, and from Mrs. Arbuthnot's to Lady Jersey's, keeping both ladies, and, what is more, both gentlemen, in good-humour. He has been cruelly ill, however, and alarmed everybody with his looks, denoting, what is the fact, a total want of power to sleep, from nights perpetually feverish. He is a little better, but still not well, while Lord Liverpool is far better than he has been for very many months. Whether this and the Chancellor's retirement after next Session (which Ministers themselves now expect), added to Gifford's total inefficiency in politics, will make any difference, your Grace can better tell than I; but it should seem that an Ultra Government could not stand in the House of Commons. I have been sometimes asked if I knew how your Grace was disposed; which, of course, I should not have presumed to answer, even had I known, had the question proceeded from quarters of sufficient consequence, or in such a shape as to make an answer necessary.

Some friends of Peel evidently sneer at Canning's Irish progress, or rather, his no progress. On the other hand, some friends of Canning are not indisposed to hold out that there is nothing to prevent his acting with Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Wellesley's joining them. I was myself surprised the other day by being asked if I had given up political writing—that I had once known how to draw a pen upon parties, and that there was opening enough now. Upon inquiring what opening, I was told, exclusive of all that I have been mentioning to your Grace, the jobbing of Arbuthnot practising upon the Duke in

regard to the India prize-money, for which his son, a youth of one-and-twenty, is made an agent, and throughout the whole of which subject the army allege there has been blameable negligence. Upon questioning further, I found that I was supposed to be neither more nor less than out of humour, and ill-used both at the Ordnance and the Treasury, and not ill-disposed to show my feelings upon it. I put the matter to rest in an instant by a very simple explanation; for I found to my amusement, though also to my vexation, that I was supposed to have quitted the Ordnance in a *quarrel* with the Duke, and had left Parliament in disgust. I felt bound therefore to set things right, and say that I had parted from the Duke the best friends possible, and still admired him, as I still loved Lord Lonsdale, and believed nothing but what was most good and honourable of both. That it was very true I felt I had been tricked out of the seat, and betrayed in my best interests, either from negligence or design, by others; but this would not make me quarrel with old friends, whom, though I felt little obligation to, I could not oppose with credit or pleasure in the way hinted at. This, therefore, was silenced at once, and I take the liberty of mentioning it to your Grace merely to mark the activity that begins to show itself.

In regard to the Indian question I have named, there is really much discontent, which will, I think, certainly break out during next Session in a manner to put the Government, or at least the Trustees and the Treasury, much on the defensive. The Trustees, as your Grace probably knows, are the Duke of W—— and A——. There will also be much questioning as to Spain, and perhaps Mexico, unless a change of policy takes place before. I am told Hervey takes the admonitions or rather reprimands he has got in high dudgeon, and will take his recal still worse.

He says he can safely assert he has not gone near so far as he would have been justified in doing, *not* by his *written*, but his *verbal* instructions from C——; and this, if proved, may involve the latter with his colleagues, though I have no doubt he will prove right, and have the country with him against those colleagues. As to Spain, things are at best unsettled. Lamb is stopped from proceeding, and my son's appointment superseded altogether. The latter history is curious. As soon as the appointment was known, Bermudez Zea, the Spanish Minister, went to Canning and remonstrated against it. C—— was at first stiff against such an interference; but Zea was proceeding to Spain to become Minister for Foreign Affairs, and did Henry the honour to say, that if he was sent in so high a station as secretary of legation and *chargé d'affaires* (which was the intention), it would be considered as a gross personal affront to the King; and this was specially founded on his having been commissioner to a rebel colony, and being known in Spain, not only as a Constitutionalist, but as *attaché* to a man (Hervey) whose conduct on the attack of the Guards had made him detested all over the kingdom. He then put it to Canning whether it would be right to embroil his new mission with him (Zea), the new Minister, in its outset, which this appointment would not fail to do. C—— yielded to this, nor can I say I think he was wrong as a Minister, while, as a friend towards us, nothing could be handsomer than his behaviour. For he assured Henry he should think it the height of injustice to let him suffer for having executed a commission which he himself had given him; he therefore promised him the very first thing equal in value and importance to Madrid, and Lord Howard told him he thought he should even gain by it in the end. Meantime he continues Mexican commissioner.

I cannot quit this subject without observing that, in all probability, this piece of impudence of Zea has something more behind it. At least the F—— O—— suspects the Spanish Government of intending a little low attempt at underhand affront, by either not sending a Minister to us, or delaying it so long as to make it a slight, and this (but your Grace will not show me up) is the reason that Lamb is stopt. As to a secretary of legation, none is yet appointed, nor is Lamb to proceed until it is known that a Spanish Minister is really coming. Zea's proceeding is only of a piece with the conduct of the Russian Government, who have refused to receive the Dutch Ambassador nominated to them, expressly because he had been a Constitutionalist while Minister in Spain, and had joined Hervey in declining to go all lengths with the Holy Alliance. But I am sure you will think I have gone all lengths with your Grace; for I am utterly frightened at the immoderate size of this letter. I am afraid you will too justly say I have abused your indulgence, and hasten to conclude, though I seem to have many things to say. Pray excuse the liberty I have taken, which, though encouraged to it by your kind confidence, ought to have been more reasonably indulged. Your wish expressed to me on the Ultra party gaining ground, "that it might be met by an intermediate one running into the extremes of neither," is so much my own sentiment, that I could not prevent myself saying all I did, especially as it is thought C——'s visit to Ireland had this very object.

I will only add my hope, for very obvious reasons, that I may not be known to have written as I have, and can sincerely say your Grace is the only person in England (poor Lord Mulgrave excepted) to whom I would so venture to

express myself. You will therefore, I am sure, believe me when I subscribe myself,

Your Grace's obliged and faithful,

R. WARD.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hyde House, Sept. 29, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

Your Grace's letter agreeably surprised me, and I am most glad to hear of your welfare and re-establishment. Your Grace then thinks of the possibility of a certain retirement, and also of the motives of the Irish visit, as others do. That Lord L—— has *done all but*, if he did not really, *announce* the first, is quite known; but his health has since been so confirmed that we now think it very doubtful, especially if your Grace's suspicion is as well founded as it appears to be, that the *visit* missed fire. *His* return, however, was at least so far hastened by the death of the King of France, that he was *sent for*. M. Iturbide's destruction we think will hasten the revival of the Mexican question, as C—— is deprived of his strongest arm against the urgent representations of Mexico to be acknowledged. Michelena is well spoken of at the F. O., and seems to have the *entrée* at will; and as the Duke of Wellington told me, the whole question *must* be finally decided on his arrival, and it was only staved off by Iturbide's expedition, the subject with all its differences must be "*unpacked*" again. Something critical may therefore be expected; for at least there is no counting upon a good-will to one another which *confessedly* does not exist. The contrary indeed is avowed *sans ménagement*. As to the question itself, I am as alive as your Grace to the danger of the principle; and this, together with the uncertainties, at best in regard to Peru, will give

a vantage ground to the Ultras. On the other hand, the pledges given by Canning to Parliament, and his almost pledges to the merchants, on which much of his power and popularity are founded, *must* impel him (exclusive of feeling) to combat those who oppose him *totis viribus*. It is hence expected that a new modelling of the Government is at hand, and the Irish visit will show itself in its effects.

Planta seems not a little sick of all this, which is an additional reason for his sighing for the settlement of Lushington's question, and getting a snug berth at the Treasury. It is no longer, I believe, doubtful that Lushington goes to Bombay or Madras,—the Directors having given in. Their High Mightinesses, however, are tolerably elevated, considering who they are. The Chairman says Mr. L—— is not of a rank of sufficient *calliber* (to use his phrase) for one of their governments, which has affronted Lord Liverpool. But this is nothing. Lord George Seymour was proposed for Madras. He consulted my brother about it, who advised him against it, but was himself inclined to accept; when behold, the enlightened statesmen of Leadenhall discovered that the Excise had a tendency to *narrow* the mind and unfit persons, however high-born or educated, for statesmanlike views. Holmes, who says everything by charter, met one of them just then, who had been a commander, and with ten thousand oaths and "Jasuses," asked him whether he got his own broad views of government by victualling passengers, as many as chose to become cabin boarders to and from India?

Lord Prudhoe is just returned from Sweden, and favoured me with a visit; which I mention because he says it is a pretty well received opinion there, that there will be a revolution soon, in a *quiet way*. The King is utterly without

consequence or personal interest. Nobody, not even the meanest, notices him whenever he appears; and he seems powerless even with the soldiery. There is a considerable feeling for the exiled family, and some for Prince Oscar; but all agree as to the nullity of Bernadotte. All, however, depends upon Russia; and to judge of the manner and language of that embassy, Lord P—— says nothing can be more slighting. They call him, without concealment, the *Parvenu*. He sometimes dines with the ambassador, and goes away soon. On one of these occasions, as soon as he had left the table, the secretary of legation, before all the company, said, "Well! *now the Parvenu is gone*, we will do so and so;" and this is so common, Lord P—— says, that it challenged no sort of notice. Bernadotte affects the greatest consideration for *us*, which does not help him with Russia. In particular he has given mortal offence to the magnanimous by having ordered his ministers in Spain, in all things to follow the politics of ours, and he accordingly identified himself with Sir W. A'Court. There are other sources of difference between us and Russia, of which we may possibly hear more. I mean the question of sending troops to Lisbon, which the Emperor, it seems, insists shall be done, but which we not only refuse ourselves, but oppose by anybody else. The discussion had been very unpleasant, and was not over a fortnight ago. Lord Prudhoe said Bloomfield was liked at Stockholm. Not so Fitzgerald, who was haughty and distant; thought the Swedes bores and half-bred; the ladies did not dress well enough to come between the wind and his nobility, and the hours were "hideously" unfashionable; all which opinions he was by no means at pains to conceal.

Your Grace's obliged friend and servant,

R. WARD.

On a review of your Grace's political feelings as to party, the middle course between the extremes is most devoutly to be wished. I know not where you could form anything strong enough to subsist of itself; though as an armed neutrality, or army of observation, your Grace might put yourself at the head of a most imposing force. I allude particularly to what you were so good as to confide to me in one of your letters,—your disposition to join any respectable force that entertained the same views.

CHAPTER V.

[1824.]

MR. CANNING AND THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS—INGRATITUDE OF LOUIS XVIII.—TRANSLATION OF LORD PRIVY SEAL—LOSSES AT THE GAMING TABLE—A GLIMPSE AT THE FRENCH COURT—A FRENCH ARMY IN CADIZ—RETIREMENT OF LORD SIDMOUTH—DESCENDANTS OF GEORGE LORD LYTTELTON—THE GOVERNMENTS OF SOUTH AMERICA—SIR CHARLES LONG—MR. CANNING'S VISIT TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND—ALARMING STATE OF IRELAND—INDIAN JUDGES—THE BURMESE WAR—COURT LIFE—A POLITICAL NEGOTIATION—COMPLAINTS AGAINST LORD WELLESLEY—A CABINET COUNCIL AND ROYAL DINNER—THE MEXICAN QUESTION SETTLED.

CHAPTER V.

The South American Republics and the state of Portugal were again the principal subjects of interest; and it will be seen that as regards the former, the foreign policy of Mr. Canning was not approved of by the Duke of Buckingham. A careful attention to the correspondence now printed will show that this statesman, brilliant as were his talents, in his desire, by taking as opposite a course as possible to that adopted by his predecessor and former rival, to throw discredit on his ideas and measures, committed errors of judgment, which will long continue to produce difficulties. The feeling that was at the bottom of this conduct arose from his recollection of the failure of his scheme to raise himself at the expense of Lord Castlereagh, and the humiliation and enforced absence from office which followed its exposure. His motives were, however, penetrated by some of his more observant contemporaries; and bearing in mind the liberality of Lord Castlereagh in acceding to his re-admission into the Government, and in bestowing upon him the honourable position of Governor-General of India, it must

be acknowledged that such motives were very far from creditable to him.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Nonnenwerder, Oct. 4, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I am not surprised that you feel averse to correspond on some of the subjects to which you allude, through a foreign post-office, knowing how really uneasy I was myself at the hazard some of my late letters might be exposed to, even between London and the Highlands.

I am sorry that there should be even a shade of difference between our South-American politics; but all that has been contended for is, that we should act up to the instructions which Lord Londonderry prepared for himself for the Congress of Verona, and which having been approved by the Cabinet were afterwards transmitted to the Duke of Wellington. I do not feel that by acknowledging an independence originally proclaimed against Bonaparte's usurpation, that we do in fact maintain the insurrectionary principle. It is to be considered that the country with which we have at present more points of collision than any other, that with which there is the greatest probability of our being embroiled, has already recognised these States; that at present we have a most powerful and active party within them, who are desirous of connecting themselves more closely with us; and then it seems to be no indifferent matter whether, in the event of a war with North America, these States should be under our influence or that of our enemies.

In truth, so far as concerns Brazil, the question must necessarily decide itself, for the commercial treaty which we formed with Portugal for our trade with that country,

which was an extremely advantageous one, expires next spring, and *must* be renewed with Don Pedro. You are no doubt aware that France has been all the last year actively at work to persuade these new States to connect themselves with her, but has entirely failed.

I write this in great haste, profiting by a private conveyance which has just offered itself, from a *ci-devant* convent, now turned into an inn, on an island in the most beautiful part of the Rhine.

The last week's letters have informed me of the death of my adjutant, which is very inconvenient to my Lord Castlecomer.

This year the Duke of Buckingham obtained by purchase an estate in Norfolk. It is to this Mr. Ward refers so exultingly as a triumph over a wealthy landowner in the neighbourhood, since raised to the peerage by the very title which he is here stated as having missed.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

7, New Street, Spring Gardens,
Oct. 13, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

First let me congratulate your Grace, as I do most heartily, and in common with all your friends whom I have seen, on your purchase: good as a purchase, but as a victory over a very offensive, overbearing, and, in my opinion, very empty man, admirable! I could not have *hoped* that Mr. C—— would have been so mortified. It is almost worse than missing the title of Leicester. Everybody I have seen, even those who do not know you, are delighted with it; for what you have remarked upon his

resolution that your Grace should not be the purchaser, seems very well known.

You surprise me with the ungrateful negligence of Louis XVIII. which I did not know before; but Monsieur was always (to say the least of it) better bred. Perhaps you will some day favour me with a sight of his letter. The French pun upon him and the rain is pretty, and I am quite obliged to you for thinking of it, for pretty trifles form the *agrémens* of familiar letters such as you are so good as to indulge me with. I wish I had any wit in return, or even any matters of fact, but London is quite as barren just now as the country. I have only heard of Lord Westmoreland's complaint of French *double entendre*. He is just come from Paris, where being put upon explaining what was the meaning of Lord Privy Seal, he described himself as keeper of *les grands sceaux*, which they, from his pronunciation, turned into keeper of *les grands sots*.

The Duke of Wellington is somewhat better. I asked Lord Fitzroy confidentially about him (for he is in the country), and he told me he had heard the reports of cancer, but assured me there was not the least foundation for it in the opinion of the medical men. Stephenson, the aurist, gives out that it was his pride endangered his ear; for while syringing him, he begged he would tell him the moment he felt any pain, when he meant to stop; but it was beneath a hero to confess he felt pain. Lord Liverpool goes on from better to better, and passes the next month at the sea-side; not Walmer, but, as he inclines, at Bognor, which seems strange. I have no diplomatic news, but Stratford Canning, it seems, does not go *Lieger* to Petersburgh, but on a special mission, and is to be replaced by Lord Strangford, whom he will replace at the Porte, though this is not settled.

Lady G—— trembles for Paris for her lord; not among the ladies, but the gaming-tables. He is poorer than ever, and, as the *on dit* says, has lost 20,000*l.* more within these few months. Without believing or disbelieving it, I have heard that his whole loss at play, including the price paid for raising money, approaches 300,000*l.* My informant is a determined clubbist, not unlikely to know, but if half is true, we cannot wonder at the wish of Lady G—— that he would be content with the Netherlands.

I believe I mentioned to your Grace that the peerage is expected to crown Long's political and *dilettante* life. We think it approaches, as he has, at a great price, bought one of Kray Grant's new houses at Whitehall, and he would hardly either give up the house at the Horse Guards, remaining paymaster, or remain a commoner without office. Lushington, by his own account, is as much at sea as ever. He is to be proposed again next month, and his chances are, that as probably neither Elphinstone nor Malcolm will be proposed again, those who were pledged to them may be free to vote for Lushington—*if they please.* But of all this your Grace knows a great deal more than I do. All the office people speculate upon a dissolution after next harvest, and Government expect (if nothing intervenes next Session) to gain strength. Lord Darlington, they say, is much softened. Whether there is any Duchy of Cleveland in the case I don't know, but your Grace has the sin of his not having been propitiated long ago; for he says that he might have forgiven not having succeeded, if *you* had not been successful.

Your Grace's obliged friend and servant,

R. WARD.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Spring Gardens, Oct. 15, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

We are as dull as usual at this time of year—not even a murder, though one or two marriages. Sir Thomas, whom I met at the play, told me that his would take place, he hoped, next month. I was almost tempted to sing, 'There was a little man, and he wooed a little maid;' but recollected he wore a sword, and was a Buckinghamshire yeoman. Seriously, I wish him and his nice bride all manner of happiness, and hope their prospect of it is, at least, sanctioned by your Grace's auspices.

To-day, a daughter of Mr. Dupré marries a son of Pasco Grenfell. The Duke of Wellington is certainly better, and, I am told, takes more care of himself. Some Hampshire people told me, it was reported that your Grace and he meant to bring somebody forward in opposition to Fleming, and asked if I believed it. My answer was an honest one—Ignoramus.

Hoping to attend your Grace on Tuesday,

I am always,

My dear Lord Duke,

Your obliged and faithful

R. WARD.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Newtown, Montgomeryshire, Oct. 29, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

With respect to South American independence, though I am perfectly aware that a treaty will not create trade, it may prevent its being interrupted, and I am convinced that if Buenos Ayres were to-morrow to impose duties on

the ships and produce of every country except that which has recognised it—viz., North America—you would be compelled, by the outcry of the country, to recognise them in six months; and it would in the meantime further the views of North America in favour of a closer connexion.

In truth, the trade already carried on with South America is too important an object to be hazarded.

I cannot agree with you in assimilating the separation of South America from Spain to a successful military mutiny, like the Spanish and Portuguese revolutions. Buenos Ayres has now been actually independent for fifteen years. We carry on a commerce there to a great extent. There is not an appearance of a Spanish party, or the most remote chance of the mother country recovering her authority by force. According, then, to the principle which we have avowed for years, of which we have given repeated notice, I can see no objection to giving our subjects who trade there the protection of a treaty not excluding other nations from similar advantages, but merely stipulating for perfect equality, and for a resident minister of the British Crown.

Lord Liverpool has decided on withdrawing Lushington, and putting forward Sir Charles Stuart for Madras, at which I expect the hostile party in the Direction will jump, and the friends of Government, who have persuaded themselves, and tried to persuade others, that they have been fighting Lushington's battle from personal preference to him, and on independent grounds, will be angry.

I am delighted to hear so good an account of your health and spirits.

Ever, most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Vicomte de Chabot affords another glimpse of the French Court.

VICOMTE DE CHABOT TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Villiers, Nov. 1, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I hope you have received my last letter in which I stated my having taken an opportunity of saying myself to the King everything you wished, and that it was received quite in the way you could desire. Now why should you not be the person to come and compliment us upon the Sacre—tell me that, s'il vous plait? I think it would be very proper in every way.

Russia, I hear, from first to last (the Emperor excepted), is for a war; how far he will resist, and how long, remains to be seen. I do not apprehend that the ascendancy from *thence* is very great here; the great object from *hence*, being to keep *well* with *all*. Spain is going on badly; it gives much to think of here; and I understand that strong representations have been made, and are making, towards establishing there a more tolerable state of things. It cannot go on as it is.

The ceremony of the funeral the other day at St. Denys was *very fine:* the church magnificently lighted and ornamented; the breaking the different staffs of office, and throwing the banners and standards into the vault, was very impressive. It lasted four hours in the church. A commission is named, of which M. de Villèle is president, to organize and arrange the ceremonial for the Sacre; how far old customs and usages will be departed from, is then

to be decided. It will certainly be at Rheims, and will last three days.

Pray remember me kindly to the Duchess.

And believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

C.

P.S.—Sir Charles Stuart[1] gives up his post here in three or four days, and is going to England. Percy, the secretary of embassy, receives the *brevet* of minister-*plenipo*; but after the arrival of Lord Granville, resumes his secretaryship. I hear Bloomfield likes Stockholm very much, and is *much liked* there, where he lives most handsomely.

The retirement of Lord Sidmouth, so often figuring among political *on dits*, had at last become an accomplished fact He survived till February, 1844, and his biography, written by Dean Pellew, was subsequently published in two volumes.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Nov. 3.

MY DEAR B——,

The best piece of news which I can tell you is that Viscount Sidmouth has actually retired from the Cabinet, where, as he told me this time two years, he only remained lest his departure should be supposed to arise from personal dislike to Canning. This is very surprising, since it approaches nearer to veracity than his political transactions have usually been found to do. We have asked

[1] In 1828 created Lord Stuart de Rothesay. He was succeeded as ambassador by Viscount, afterwards (1833) Earl Granville.

an explanation of the intentions of France with respect to Cadiz.

You will remember that one of the conditions with which we qualified our neutrality on the original entrance of the French army into Spain was, that the occupation should in no respect assume a character of permanence. The expense and inconvenience of maintaining an army in Spain, of itself gave us a considerable security that France would not maintain it longer than necessary; but a French garrison in Cadiz, not subject to a commander-in-chief at Madrid, but making a part of a military division of France, is a very different thing, and you will remember that it has been declared in the Chamber by the Duke of Fitz-james, that it is the duty of the French Ministers to retain it while we hold Gibraltar.

Your friend Clancarty[1] has written a most violent letter to Lord Liverpool about the Catholics, which looks as if he intended to stand forward next Session as the champion of an Orange opposition to Wellesley and Plunket.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 11, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I never have seen Lady A. M——, but was somewhat disgusted at her writing, soon after my appointment, to desire my mother to apply to her "*amiable son*" to obtain a China writership for (I suppose) this same young man. My answer was, that "it was a favour which if my own son were old enough, I should think I had no right to ask for

[1] An Irish earl, created in the English peerage baron, 1815, viscount, 1824. He was for several years ambassador at the Netherlands.

him." In truth, I have an early prejudice against the whole race of M——, which I really believe, from all I have heard, ought not to extend to this branch. Somewhat of the same family taint is, I am afraid, visible in the C——'s, all of whom I knew as boys; but I do not think that any one amongst them has grown up reputably, except, perhaps, the Admiral: Sir J——, the D—— of Y——, and Alexander, seem to be thorough ——.

Was it the F—— connexion which introduced so great a portion of devil into all the descendants of George Lord Lyttelton? I never heard whether there was any family tradition how far the eulogium upon, "though meek magnanimous, though witty wise," was deserved.

I wish that I had an opportunity of seeing you, and fully talking over the South America question, as I fear that it is too extensive for me to argue by letter.

In truth there are five new States, and no two are exactly in similar circumstances. The question which arose last summer related principally to Buenos Ayres.

There is a Government which owed its origin not to a revolutionary spirit and disposition to rebel against royal authority, but to a resolution not to submit to the yoke of Buonaparte, which we ourselves encouraged. In truth, the calamities of Spain, and the feebleness of its Government, whether under Joseph, the Cortes, or Ferdinand, have been such that it has been obviously impossible that it should extend to its colonies that protection which is the necessary condition of subjection.

The Government of Buenos Ayres has now been established for fifteen years; there is no appearance of any Spanish party within its dominions, nor the most distant chance of the mother country being capable of ever making

an effort to recover its authority. It is, *de facto*, independent, and carries on with us a great and daily increasing commerce.

In the event—unfortunately not an improbable one—of a rupture with North America, its favourable or unfavourable disposition may be very important. Are we, therefore, to reject that disposition, and to forward the views of America, and, I may add, of France; both of which (the former openly, the latter more secretly) are courting its alliance? I cannot myself perceive what circumstances can at any time justify the recognition of a new State which do not apply to Buenos Ayres. Is it to be contended that this recognition is to be protracted to an indefinite period, or that fifteen years have not sufficiently cemented the new Government, and proved the utter inability of Spain ever to attempt its overthrow? We have, in fact, recognised its existence by the appointment of consuls and the acknowledgment of its flag, and all that now remains is to place our commercial relations on a more regular footing by a treaty regulating the duties to be levied, and to appoint a diplomatic agent to protect our interests.

Most of the same arguments apply to Mexico, and that which respects North America with infinitely greater force.

With respect to Peru and Chili, it cannot be said that the Governments are yet so firmly and tranquilly established, and therefore they would remain for some time longer in their present state of imperfect relations with this country.

In this it really seems to me that we are doing nothing but what was declared to be our intention both to Spain and the other members of the Alliance, at the time of the Congress of Verona.

Canning tells me that the entire project of Portugal

in reply to that of Brazil is arrived, and that though it is one which is not likely to be accepted, yet he thinks it may be made a ground for keeping up the negotiation, which is in itself a point of no small advantage.

Your Russian intelligence is exactly what we have heard ever since I have been in office. The War and Peace parties are both very strong, and though the Emperor is believed personally to incline to the latter, there has always been great danger that he may become afraid of his army, and think it necessary at all rates to find them employment. With this view he desired no better than to send them to Spain.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

The following communication refers to a negotiation common enough at this period; but it is necessary to state that the writer entered into it under a mistake as to the Duke of Buckingham's intentions.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Spring Gardens, Nov. 12, 1824, night.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

In respect to the event to which our correspondence chiefly alludes, I have reason to think it not so near as I did. At least, so Canning told me in an interview I had with him yesterday upon a matter of confidence, in which this very event was a fact of most importance. This opinion of his, however, was not to be promulged. This being so, and your Grace's letter not seeming to me to evince any great desire that your feeling about it should

be declared, I think it may be best not to *court* an opportunity of making it known, even to the two parties which your Grace points out, but to leave it for greater effect, till they seek the opportunity themselves. If I do not construe your Grace rightly in this, a word will instruct me. At this moment Lushington is in Kent.

Perhaps you will excuse my asking if I have properly understood another part of your letter, of too much importance to risk a conclusion hastily upon it. Your Grace says, "a person has applied to you for a recommendation, &c.—that he must support your politics, and be ready"—— &c., &c. And you do desire me, should any person occur to me, to communicate confidentially with your Grace. Now, I beg your pardon if I am wrong, but as it does happen that I am sometimes asked by persons desirous of supporting Government, if I know of an opening anywhere, I would beg to know, should this occur, if I am at liberty to mention it to you—of course without making use of, or even alluding to your Grace's name? It is a little curious that within these three days the absolute proprietor of two, probably four, and possibly five seats, has commissioned me to offer them to the disposal of Government. I have, on the other hand, been asked by a Treasury man if I knew of an opening for Sir T. F., who wanted to come in. As I knew nothing either of his wishes or the chances of realizing them, I could not speak to the subject, and said no; but from your Grace's interest about him, and his actual situation with you, I think it right to mention it as an occurrence of the day, although I suppose you can stand in need of no information upon that head. This wish to inform you of passing occurrences will I hope excuse me if I appear too officious, which is the very last thing I would choose to be.

Your Grace's question about B—— is not unimportant. Since the paragraph put forth in the *Chronicle*, his case has certainly provoked much conversation in circles of both parties and of all ranks. When I have been questioned about it, which I have been by both sides, I have expressed *my own* opinion, without professing to know whether it was that of your Grace. But I have said, speaking as a magistrate of the county, that we were all a set of peaceable, well-disposed men, agreeing perfectly well together, having respect for one another, and, whatever our politics, actuated by only one wish, that of conducting the business of the county in the best manner we are able. That at present we have no parties among us, and everything is smooth; but that if B—— came among us, however well intentioned or respectable he might be (and in point of talent, birth, and fortune, no one could be more so), that instant we might bid adieu to the comfort and harmony that prevailed, and the signal for faction (witness Surrey) would be hoisted; that I knew not whether there were motives that actuated your Grace, but I thought the magistrates of the county very much obliged to you for thus taking care of their peace.

Now, my dear Lord Duke, I hope you will only think me the sincere attached friend I profess myself to be, if I inform you that I have sometimes received for answer, "This is a fair account, but this is not the reason assigned by the Duke, who has only said there was no want of magistrates in Mr. B——'s part of the county, which may be true; but then his Grace has recommended friends of his own in parts equally full." This has been said by persons who have heard it from B——'s friends, and, added to the attack in the *Chronicle*, it might certainly augur an intention to carry it further, and, in fact, it has been usual

to observe, "the Duke will be forced to yield;" but beyond this I have no reason to think there is any settled design to make it a public question. This I know, if I were still in the House, though I am personally a friend of B——, I should not have the least scruple, were such an attack made, to declare in my place all I have said in regard to the exclusion, founded on his personal character as a public man, and appeal to his whole public life for a proof. I mean this of course speaking for myself as a magistrate of the county, certainly not taking the liberty of answering for your Grace. Indeed, I have scarcely anywhere found these sentiments opposed.

I heartily thank your Grace for your communication of the King of France's message; and as no man in Europe has a right to put himself higher, as far as my humble opinion goes, you have answered only with the dignity that becomes you. Before I conclude, I must again entreat that if there is anything in this letter which seems to overstep discretion, by appearing officious, you will attribute it solely to the true cause—the zeal with which I am, my dear Lord Duke,

Your faithful and obliged,

R. WARD.

I have just been dining with the Bathursts. Matthew Montague has come home from Italy. The best joke is, that he has contrived to get himself actually outlawed in the Court of Chancery, and is in danger of being seized wherever he is.

I saw Long,[1] and taxed him with his peerage. He made a sort of *nolo episcopari* answer; said he had heard the report, coloured, and parried; but did not say it was false, or desire it might be contradicted. He explained his

[1] Created Baron Farnborough 1826.

purchase of the new house in Privy Garden (which has cost him 10,000*l.*), by saying Lady Long liked the part of the town, and had desired him to *secure* one whenever he could. I impudently said, as he would never quit the Pay-office while a commoner, that would not do. He laughed, and Lord Brownlow coming in, there was an end of it.

The Duke of Wellington is much better.

Mr. Williams Wynn's letters will be found as various as usual; but the visit of Mr. Canning to his old friend, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, appears to have excited a good deal of curiosity. Bearing in mind Mr. Canning's desire to have the Marquis Wellesley with him in the Cabinet, which had led to his memorable attempt to get rid of Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Wynn's speculation as to his intention will not appear improbable.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 17, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

Everybody is out of town; but towards the end of the week, when they return, I will make inquiry as to the probable course to be adopted in the event of the death of your respected General. I feel little doubt that Canning will accept your invitation for Christmas, and that he will like to have his visit in the newspapers. I cannot believe that so absurd an idea as the nomination of Lord Morley[1] to succeed Wellesley can have been entertained. Lord Bristol[2]

[1] John, first earl. He died in 1840.

[2] Created marquis 1826.

would be more probable, and such a report has gained ground.

It is more probable that C——'s visit related to the course to be taken in the event of Liverpool being compelled or persuaded by his wife into resignation.

The Chancellor made to me yesterday a very indifferent report of the King's health, received through Peel, describing him as larger, and more affected with the spitting of phlegm than he has been.

We are nearly at issue on the appointment of a Chief Justice of Calcutta. He wants to promote Sir C. Grey, a young man of talent, who went out as a Puisne jugde to Madras four or five years ago. I think him neither qualified by experience nor practice to hold so high a situation, and propose Judge Bailey, who has intimated his desire of going.

It is a matter of great importance when these questions of press and jurisdiction are daily raised against the Governor-General's authority to have a C—— J—— whose decisions will command universal respect and confidence; besides which, it would be particularly offensive to Sir F. Macnaghten (who, with the exception of ten weeks, will have acted as C—— J—— for three years), to put a young man much his junior, and holding no professional rank, over his head.

In this the Chancellor seems disposed to support me, and I have, as far as I can, thrown the burden upon his shoulders.

Warren, Heaven knows, would be quite unfit. I do not know anything of Dover's professional character, but am making inquiry. Among the candidates for the Puisne Judgeship are Ludlow Holt, a man of talent and a lawyer; Claridge, a gentleman and man of talent, but not much

of a lawyer; Ellis and Rickets, about whom I am making inquiries.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 19, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I have no idea myself that there is any foundation for Wellesley's return from Ireland beyond newspaper report; indeed scarcely that. It is much more likely that Canning's visit related to the contingency of Liverpool's retirement. In that event, he might wish to persuade Wellesley to take the Foreign seals with the lead of the House of Lords, and himself take the Treasury with the House of Commons. To this, however, there would be the greatest opposition from some quarters, particularly the highest; and yet I hardly know what else could be done, for he never, I imagine, would act under Robinson or Peel; but this is too wide a chapter now to enter upon, though very necessary to be hereafter talked over. If Canning comes, you must, I think, make somewhat of a party to meet him. Warrender[1] dines Canning very often, has a strong disposition to consider us as his old friends, and is now a Buckinghamshire squire. Are there any of the other young men of rank, &c., whom you had at the ball, whom you could get? Canning himself always likes to have young men who will wonder at and admire him, and they would be flattered at being asked to meet him.

You would not have a chance of Robinson, as I know

[1] Right Hon. Sir George Warrender, Bart.

that if he leaves town, he is engaged to Lord Pembroke.[1]

He went off yesterday to Yorkshire, as Miss Lawrence of Studley (from whom he and Lord Grantham have immense expectations) is dying.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 24, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I see evidently, I think, that we are approaching to an explosion in Ireland, whether sooner or later may depend on exterior politics; but that if we had a war to-morrow, you would in three months have that country in arms, demanding Catholic emancipation and a repeal of the Union. The former would then be thrown at their heads, and produce no beneficial effect whatever. John Bull might possibly for a very short time call out No Popery, and demand unqualified submission, but he would alter his note in the first six months.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

The last paragraph shows that Ireland had not improved under the many political doctors that had prescribed for her disorder—the following communication from a high authority is to the same purpose.

[1] George Augustus, eleventh earl. He died in 1827.

SIR HENRY PARNELL[1] TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Emo Park, Emo, Nov. 25, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD,

I shall feel very much obliged to your Grace, if your Grace will have the goodness to give instructions to Mr. Fishbourne to have the registries of the freeholders on your Grace's estate in the Queen's County examined, and such of them renewed as may have expired. I am happy to be able to acquaint your Grace that I am anxious to have this business attended to, rather as a measure of precaution than as one that is necessary in consequence of any prospect of a contest at the next general election.

The state of this country is become so alarming, that I beg to take this opportunity of submitting to the consideration of your Grace the following general observations upon it.

In some respects a considerable improvement has taken place. The disturbances of the Whiteboys are suppressed; the new constable system proves very effectual; and all farming and commercial pursuits are particularly prosperous.

But in the midst of so much positive change for the better, the baneful and never-ceasing influence of the penal laws has been productive of greater agitation and apprehension than ever. The junction of the Catholic nobility and bishops with the Association, and the success of the Catholic rent, have given quite a new character to the Catholic question.

The meetings that are now in progress of all the parishes to adopt the Catholic rent, and to pass resolutions upon the penal laws, together with the actual payment of the rent by the lower orders of the people, are bringing forward the

[1] Created Baron Congleton in 1841; he died in the following year.

whole Catholic population in the effort that is now making to carry their emancipation.

The increased intelligence of the people, and the incessant and successful efforts that are now made to teach them their grievances, render them more keenly sensible of their political situation; while the daily provocations of the Orange party excite their passions, make them quite ferocious, and dispose them to be easily gained over to embark in the most desperate enterprises.

The evil now to be apprehended is, that the proper season for carrying emancipation is gone by; and that this measure will not take the people out of the hands of those of the Catholic leaders who seek only the separation of the two countries.

I do not believe that this is the case, but I feel certain, from all I see and hear, that if this measure is not granted next Session, and such a system of executive government established in Ireland as shall give the Catholics the full benefit of it, when it is granted, that the present commotions of the public mind will end in another general rebellion.

By connecting with emancipation a provision for the Catholic clergy, the giving of a large share of public situations to Catholics, the abolition of forty shilling freeholds, and a general plan of education on a principle satisfactory to Catholic feelings, I feel quite confident that the commotion would subside, and the whole country become perfectly tranquil and extremely flourishing.

Knowing how great an interest your Grace always feels for the welfare of Ireland, I am, at this moment, particularly glad to have the opportunity of calling your Grace's attention to what is now going on; and at the same time of earnestly requesting your Grace to use every exertion

in persuading Government, before it is too late, to conciliate the Catholics.

Believe me, my dear Lord, yours truly,

H. PARNELL.

Mr. Canning's exertions began to tell upon his health, which the wear and tear of many years of active political life on an excitable frame had not left particularly strong.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 25, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

Canning at Carlton House appeared unwell, and complained of having been much worse during the last three or four days from a flying attack of gout, which he trusted would stand for a regular fit.

He seems much perplexed by the shape which the connexion between France and Spain is assuming. The occupation of Spain by a French force was not only by stipulation, but from its nature evidently a temporary measure; but a French garrison may continue in Cadiz for an indefinite time. But this and other things must all come under discussion next week. He appears extremely languid and out of spirits.

The King was in very good humour at my audience, and perfectly willing that the question of the Chief Justiceship should stand over somewhat longer.

We must send out a new Commander-in-chief *forthwith* to India, though Paget does not himself propose to resign till this time twelvemonth. He evidently disagrees with Lord Amherst, and tries to assist the clamour against him, which is already formidable enough.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 30, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

The King looks ill and seems irritable. I am to have my audience to-morrow.

The Chancellor objects to Bailey's having the offer, both on account of his age (this is a valid objection—for I suppose Bailey is sixty-five), and on constitutional grounds ! ! ! because there should not be an additional step of promotion for judges to look forward to, and to bias their impartiality on the bench. Fiddledum ! diddledum ! but it cannot be resisted. If there is a chance of Richardson's being capable of accepting it, he thinks the battle ought to be fought; but that, unless we can find a Chief Justice decidedly preferable to Sir Charles Grey, of whom he himself long before this business spoke to me very highly, *it is not "desirable to engage in a kicking match."*

Sir Charles Stuart still defers his decision about Madras, on the plea of the absence of Robinson, whom he wishes to consult. The fact is, that he means to take it, and is only playing with it like a cat with a mouse, taking special care that it shall not escape beyond his claws; but he thinks he shows his resentment to Canning by this hesitation, and wishes that it may appear to the public that he has been pressed and urged to take it, which is not the case.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, Nov. 27, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

We have no news, but surely much brewing; in Ireland chiefly, and some in the W. Indies. The Speaker told me he expected much work during the Session under both heads. I understand the Catholic Association and the rent give very great and serious uneasiness to Ministers, who fear a new Volunteer crisis, though there is no Charlemont, Grattan, or Flood. They are not the better for what *it is said* Lord Wellesley has written home, that if the Association is not put down, the Catholics will put themselves up, and that to a height far above anything and everything your Grace and their other real friends ever thought of recommending. In short, nothing short of the subversion of the Protestant, as a national Church, the restoration of their bishops to their estates and the Peers house, and the abrogation of the King's oath.

Canning, I believe, gains ground everywhere—in the Cabinet and with the King. Lord Mulgrave[1] (who is sadly ill) has resigned the Lord Lieutenancy of the E. Riding, and Lord Morpeth's[2] succession is his doing, the Opposition being with him. Brougham[3] says he is the first man in the State, and Lambton,[4] that he has a most excellent heart. This was at a dinner at Kinnaird's, where Bruce added privately that he was the only chance any of the Whigs had of being introduced to power. The same Bruce observed that the Grenvilles had greatly injured the Whigs in this,

[1] Henry, first earl. He died in 1831. His son and successor, Ambassador to France, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was created Marquis of Normanby 1838.

[2] Eldest son of the Earl of Carlisle.

[3] Created Lord Brougham and Vaux 1830.

[4] Created Earl of Durham, 1833.

that while they were together, the moderate, or doubting, felt there was some security for their not turning Radical—but now there was none, and the line was completely drawn.

If your Grace has any feeling one way or the other about the proposed plans for the Thames (I mean Trench's[1]), I think from a conversation I had with Robinson yesterday, it certainly will not take place. All the Whitehall people are against it, and R—— said if it could not be effected without disturbing them, and also without the expense of compensation, he would renounce all he had done, and oppose it. I am ever, my dear Lord Duke,

Your Grace's obliged and faithful,

R. W.

The state of Ireland was a source of embarrassment even to her earnest well-wishers, and the most eloquent of her advocates began to entertain doubts as to what course of policy could be pursued that was likely to be beneficial to her in her present condition. The organization of the Catholic Association, under the direction of O'Connell, was only a new form of United Irishmen.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 29, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I really am too fully employed at the present moment about our India arrangements relative to the war, the Commander-in-chief, and the Governor of Madras (to say nothing of the Chief Justice), being obliged to correspond

[1] Mr. Ward refers to an ingenious design published by Sir Frederick Trench for improving the Thames in its course through the metropolis, by erecting suitable structures on each bank on a raised terrace.

on them with the D—— of W——, Lord Liverpool, and Canning, for it to be possible for me to enter into a discussion with you by letter upon the state of Ireland, and what is to be done thereupon. I have seen no letter from Lord Wellesley, and I believe none has arrived, but that a grand epistle is on the anvil. I know nothing, either, of Plunket's opinion, beyond what he told me before he went, when he completely satisfied me that at that time the Catholic Association had done nothing to incur the penalties of the law, which I believe to be still the case. As the Cabinet meets the day after to-morrow, I shall then know more, and when I do, will write to you.

I am fully sensible of the danger of what is going on, but yet I know not how to check it, or how to advocate measures of coercion, when those of conciliation, which justice requires, are refused.

In addition to the names you mention for Governor of Madras, I think sometimes of Lord Lovaine. He is very poor, and has more information and sense than the world gives him credit for. The K—— would like Lord Erskine.

I do not understand for what office or purpose you mention Sir Edward E——. He could have no temptation to resume that which he resigned three years ago; still *less* would an English lawyer ever make a tolerable Indian Governor.

If you really are so strongly impressed with the necessity of taking a decided part on the Irish Question at the present moment, it seems to me absolutely necessary that, before you finally make up your mind, you should communicate both with Wellesley and Plunket, and learn their opinion fully.

Ever affectionately yours, C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 30, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

We have not yet got the answer to the questions put to Plunket and Joy, whether any part of the conduct of the Association was such as would maintain a legal prosecution. You know that in the last Session it was decided, after much consideration, that there were no sufficient grounds for such proceeding. The next question is, Is it expedient to introduce a new law? Can any be devised to meet the present evil, which shall be sufficiently extensive in its provisions not to be easily evaded, and which at the same time shall leave the numerous charitable associations, which collect their funds in the same way, untouched? These are the questions to be considered and discussed. Meantime it is satisfactory to know, that our force is more efficient than at any former period—twenty thousand two hundred and thirty regulars—and those not, as at former periods, scattered in small bodies, to the destruction of discipline and at the hazard of being cut off in detail; but sixteen of the regiments employed have no detachments. The police amount to between four and five thousand, nine hundred of whom are mounted; besides this, there is the yeomanry.

Still, I agree with you in thinking that a body like the Catholic Association is formidable—not from the amount of its funds, which I have no doubt will fall off, but from its correspondence with a regular rent collector in every parish of Ireland, enabling it to direct at will an already organized population. But on this more hereafter.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

An Ambassador Extraordinary from the Court

of St. James's being expected in Paris on the Coronation of Charles X., certain of the Duke of Buckingham's friends in France were desirous that he should be named for that duty. Vicomte de Chabot, who gave the first suggestion, as printed in a preceding page, appears to have interested himself greatly to bring about this result; but neither of the noblemen named by him were appointed. The Duke of Devonshire was selected by Mr. Canning.

VICOMTE DE CHABOT TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dec. 1, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The King has repeated to the Duchess de Grammont (with whom I had a conversation), that he would see with pleasure that you were sent here on the occasion of the Coronation; and, although His Majesty *himself cannot* make any direct application for *any* body, yet a *private* letter is to be written to the Prince de Polignac, pointing out this to him, and urging him to have a communication thereupon with Mr. Canning. This is the present state of the affair, of which I think it right to apprise you. In haste.

Believe me, very sincerely yours,

C.

P.S. What say you to the Duke of Wellington coming, or Lord Hastings?

Indian affairs alternating with Irish were the chief troubles of the Government. The following communication shows how the former were pressing upon the home authorities.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 4, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Since I returned from Brighton I have been in town for a week, and found Wynn in great spirits, and things apparently going on prosperously and harmoniously: I met the Chairs with him, and though they were sulky and in the greatest fright about India, yet, on the whole, after all that had passed, they were tolerably conciliatory. There was to be a grand conference on Wednesday with Lord Liverpool and Canning on the necessity of changing Paget, which is absolutely necessary; for he is full of complaints to the Horse Guards, and evidently making a party against Lord Amherst. He writes full of abuse from the want of every article necessary for the prosecution of a war, when in fact, this want proceeds from his negligence in not having prepared these necessaries. He complains also of the want of numerical military force, when in fact he has been furnished with the full amount of the numbers he applied for. There is no regular official appearance of ill blood between these chiefs, nothing which can be laid hold of in dispatches, but it all comes through private channels of communication; and, in fact, his letters to the Horse Guards are *private* to Taylor, to be shown to the Duke of York. All this you will see renders his *immediate* return necessary, and there is no other difficulty than in the man who is to succeed: I think it will be Lord Combermere; he is wished for by the Government and the Commander-in-chief, and I advised Wynn not to oppose him; for in fact it is much better for him to let the responsibility rest in this appointment on other shoulders than his own; and, to say truth, excepting Murray, who is only a major-general, I know no man better fitted for the station.

There are also further difficulties in this cursed Burmese business, by the contentions of Sir A. Campbell and Commodore Grant. This also only comes from private communication, but all the letters are full of it. We are, thank God, relieved for a time from the Madras question; as Munro has written word to say if he had suspected a war he would not have signified his wish to come home, and therefore the strongest assurances have been given him that he may stay if he likes. I think this a great God-send; for, depend upon it, there would have been some dirty underhand dealings in order to throw an odium on Wynn.

I hope we shall yet weather this Burmese difficulty and our next accounts improve. Poor Lord Amherst has been hardly dealt with and unlucky: he expected to find Adams at Calcutta, on whom he would have rested his whole conduct; he found him absent, as also Paget, and he also found a Government determined to decry him, connected as it was with Lord Hastings almost to a man. He found the attacks of the Burmese made, and he was under the necessity of making his decision.

The opening of the campaign not being so successful as expected, Paget takes advantage of his absence to find fault with everything that has been done, and thus Lord Amherst is left completely and solely responsible.

I think I have given you enough of India, which I have little doubt will bore you. The King is not returned here; and I believe because the *regnante* is expecting every hour to hear of the death of Lord Mountcharles, she will not come. He is staying in town till the accounts arrive, and I should not wonder if he shuts himself up at Carlton House for a month; he is in good-humour generally, but more than ever *violently* anti-Catholic, and be assured that the battle will be fought. I hear Lord Wellesley never

corresponds with Peel, and that the latter will no longer go on on these terms. I suppose before the meeting we shall have a memoir and general *exposé* from the Lord Lieutenant. The prospect in Ireland is terrific; everybody unites in thinking that they are ripe for a move, and I am quite satisfied that Catholic emancipation would not cure the evil, or allay one atom of the ill-blood. How this great question is to be settled I cannot foresee; if it lasts till Parliament meets, we shall have the committee again, but the Irish will not have patience for a report, and you will see the Protestants determined to push the thing to extremities. I see Wynn's mind still violently Catholic, and he talks as if the English militia would not go to resist Catholic emancipation. I don't believe one word of this, and I am quite sure the whole kingdom could be roused to a Catholic cry of the "Church in danger!" Whether Parliament could be urged to it is another question.

Adieu, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

P.S.—The Duchess of Gloucester has been dying, and is still desperately ill, but getting rather better.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dec. 1, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

I have only five minutes to spare before the post goes out, as I have been detained till this moment in Cabinet.

I am glad to say, that a letter from Sir Thomas Munro,[1] in which he offers to remain at Madras during the war, has relieved all our difficulties on that subject. My suggestion of the name of Lord Lovaine[2] proceeded wholly from my-

[1] Created a Baronet in 1825, died at Madras in 1827.

[2] Eldest son of the Earl of Beverley.

self, owing to my having met him at Spa, and formed a more favourable opinion of his intellect than I had previously entertained, and having since heard at the India Board that when he was there he paid considerable attention to the business. Canning never spoke of him to me.

Liverpool talked to me for some time to-day on the subject of Ireland. He said, that he could look but to two ways in which the question was to be settled finally; either to give up the Church to the Catholics, or, that the dispersion of the Bible should convert the population. He seems to me to fall in very much with the idea of passing at present some strong law to put down all societies, and to think it would be an easier task to frame than it appeared to us last year. To-day we have only begun on the Cadiz question, which is, from its ramifications, a most difficult and a most momentous one, and not the less so from the intolerant party in France having, of late particularly, directed their attention towards Ireland.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Dec. 8, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

If you can conveniently send me some game for Monday I shall be obliged to you, as I have the Chancellor, Lord Bishop of London, Canning, and Peel to dine, and go to the Westminster Play.

I fear that our Cabinets are not likely to be over, or I would meet you at Dropmore on Tuesday.

I will freely acknowledge, that no part of the conduct of the Catholic Association, or of the Catholic body, makes any difference in my view of the Catholic question. *We* have always foreseen that the consequence of delaying concession would be, to render it inefficacious when granted. That is now likely to be the case.

But I have supported this measure not from love to the Catholics—not because it will increase their power, but because it will diminish their means of mischief, by taking away an exclusion which is wholly powerless, but at the same time serves as a bond of union and connexion among them, and renders them more easy instruments of demagogues.

I regret that they should in any degree unite with the Reformers and Radicals, but I am convinced that every day you delay concession will render that union the firmer, and that the secession of any of their old friends will only attach them the more to their new associates.

I cannot wonder that hope long deferred now makes them desperate of relief; but I do not think that the concession of all we have ever proposed giving them would render them one jot the more formidable if I knew that they were to break into open rebellion next week, next month, or next year.

I have not yet seen the copy of your letter to Parnell, which you forwarded to Fremantle.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

MR. HENRY W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stuttgard, Dec. 9, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I am very sorry to hear that you have not yet received your minerals. Had there been any faith in men or the elements, you ought to have had them long ago. Immediately on the receipt of your first letter, I caused inquiries to be made, and I have now the pleasure of informing you that there is no reason for alarm, and that they will arrive *in time*. The delay has taken place at Cologne, where they were detained in consequence of the great inundations,

during which the Rhine boatmen would not stir. My banker informs me, that they were to be at Rotterdam the end of this week; so that I trust you will hear of their arrival a few days after you receive this. I am in daily expectation of the passage of a messenger from Paris, who will probably bring me your books, and I am very much obliged to you for the opportunity you have given me of gratifying my literary friends. I am sorry to find you so despondent about Ireland, which is the only point (God knows, a sensitive one,) in which we can apprehend danger. I have watched the operations of the Catholic Association, and regret that the *six Acts* cannot put down their turbulence. They feel their own force, and will not now be satisfied with what, a few years ago, they would not have dared to have asked for.

With respect to what is going on on this side of the water, I do not think that *we* ever stood on higher ground. They are obliged to own the soundness of our policy in Spanish affairs, and I believe they would now be very glad to have the Government of the Cortes to treat with. Their only consolation is the extremity of the case, and that it will produce rather horror than any wish for imitation on the part of their subjects. The occupation of the fortresses by France would at any other time have been a subject of jealousy to us; but, under the present circumstances, we ought to rejoice on certain points being free from the stream of blood to which poor Spain will shortly be exposed. It appears that all ideas of the Greek Conference at St. Petersburg or anywhere else is at an end. Neither Turks nor Greeks wish for any intervention, and we cannot cram it down their throats. The Emperor of Russia is contented with being able to tell the *Papasses* that he has made an effort for their religion, and considers the Greek insurrection as a *safety-valve* on the

high-pressure engine of legitimacy. The Turks say that the Greeks are the insurgents, and that they must, therefore, make the first proposals, which the latter will not hear of.

I am pressing Lord Erskine to accelerate his arrival; but I cannot yet learn the precise day he will be here. I hope not to be detained beyond the middle of next month. I have given orders for the wine for you and my two brothers.

Ever yours most affectionately,
HENRY WILLIAMS WYNN.

The continuation of the negotiation commenced in a preceding letter Mr. Ward now describes to his correspondent; but a reply from the Duke at once put an end to it.

Spring Gardens, Dec. 11, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

Yesterday's transactions would have made me trouble your Grace with a letter to-day, even if I had not received one from you this morning. I did not reply to your Grace's last letter respecting my friend, because I had not been able to mature the affair according to the principle you laid down. Having, I think, done so now, so as at least to have made acquaintance and had an interview with the party, I proceed to say that he is one perhaps your Grace may know personally; but certainly by reputation. That there may be no misunderstanding, I will run the risk of being long, and tell your Grace word for word everything that passed, premising, that he has at present neither knowledge nor clue as to the party he may have to treat with, except that he is a person

of the very first consequence in the State. Indeed, he told me he thought it might be Lord Lonsdale, which he would not at least *prefer;* for a reason your Grace will presently see, I had before explained through his friend, all that would be expected of him—viz., that he would have to act in a party, and under a leader in the House, as to the sides of a debate. That the party were now identified with, and indeed part of the Government, and consequently, if he accepted, he would be expected to support the Government. That the principles of the party he would join were Tory, as far as the support of the King and Constitution was concerned; but not *Ultra*, though the most opposite possible to Radicalism. That as to the Catholic question, they were favourable to all fair concession, provided the Catholics themselves would permit their being supported, which they had made at least doubtful. Then, as he was stated to be of military rank, it was necessary distinctly to explain that he was not to consider himself the liegeman of the Horse Guards, and by no means to receive instructions from that quarter; but literally, and without reserve, to act *in party* in communication with the person at the head of it. This being communicated to him by *parole*, through my friend (whom, I should add, I can trust as I would myself), he revealed his name, and, without requiring mine beforehand (which was handsome), desired to wait upon me. We met, and I explained all the above principles and conditions repeatedly, and with the utmost distinctness.

Not to detain your Grace, he acceded to them all, after perfectly understanding them, and particularly in regard to acting in party, with this *reserve*, that in regard to any thing military, he should never be required to vote against

the Commander-in-chief upon any question *personal* to *him*. On other subjects, too, there was one on which he was very desirous of being exactly understood. This was * * * *, between whom and himself there is the greatest estrangement, whose public conduct at * * * * he has always greatly blamed, and the opposite of which he pursued when he was himself left Governor * * * *. He had, indeed, he says, behaved personally offensive to him, though he asserted with feeling, that this would only make him more reserved on any public question concerning him—in short, that he would never seek to accuse him, or join those who did. Nevertheless, as he understood he was to be struck at by opposition in Parliament, he stipulated, as a *sine quâ non*, that, if this ever involved either the Government (meaning Lord Bathurst) or himself while he acted * * * * he was to be at liberty to enter upon the whole subject, clearing Lord Bathurst (as he could very well do), and defending himself to the utmost. If this *necessarily* reflected upon * * * *, he could not help it—he would not seek, but neither could he avoid it. It should seem that he is in possession of the fullest approbation of Lord Bathurst as to his own conduct, and hence supposes himself and the Government at home to be identified, and he will never lend himself to opposition to accuse * * * *, and will only allude to him should he think his own conduct calls for it. With these reserves, which I trust I have done him justice in representing, he will be with your Grace's party.

Perhaps for the sake of the same justice I ought to add his parting observation, which was in these words:—"But pray in acting in a party, am I to be considered a cypher? or if I have any objects of my own [I

suppose he meant professional], am I to be liable to be told, you must apply to us through your political leader?" I told him no; and that I was myself an instance of the contrary, as I had acted in a party for above twenty years, yet had never once in my official objects used or applied for the influence of my parliamentary leader. * * * * It was this, I believe, that made him think I was on this very occasion representing * * * *; for he feared, he said, that he was so allied with the * * * * family, he would never consent to the freedom which (even explained as he had explained it) he had stipulated for. I undeceived him as to this.

I have now told you, I think, everything like reserve which he had as to terms, and he voluntarily intimated that beyond these explanations, should he have any opinions opposite to the conditions or principles I had stated to be those of your Grace, he would instantly surrender up the ——. Upon the whole, he impressed me with the notion of a very open, honourable, and able man, with something lofty about himself, but nothing inconsistent with what, from his rank and character, he had a right to assert. He was not the less confiding because he had remembered me at Lord Mansfield's, and of my intimacy with all the family. I will only add to the length of this letter that I promised him an answer by the end of next week, and remain,

My dear Lord Duke,

Your very faithful and obliged,

R. W.

Your Grace's news about B—— is so astonishing, that I cannot believe it. I will certainly endeavour to find what clue I can to it; but will not delay this letter to do so. I regret almost that I return to-morrow to the country,

as my endeavours will be shackled. I will do all I can on the other subject of the votes. Your Grace was very good in your last to remind me of (what indeed there was no occasion for) my "Xmas engagement." May I ask what is the time of assembling?

The state of Ireland still continued to excite the greatest anxiety—O'Connell and the Catholic Association being allowed to neutralize the advantages which the great measure of Lord Castlereagh had given to the country.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 12, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Many thanks for your confidential communication regarding your feelings and conduct in this difficult and most important question of Ireland: I *concur with you fully* in your view of it: nothing could have destroyed the object of the Catholics (as far as that object was a participation in the privileges of British subjects), but the intemperance and disloyalty they have manifested, and, indeed, the mask is now so entirely thrown off, that England must either submit to separation or fight for its dominion—the latter, in my opinion, must be the result.

I find the Cabinet are full of the subject; what they will do with Lord Wellesley remains to be seen. The Irish letters from *every Protestant* and many Catholics, all cry loud and more loudly at his perfect incapacity and supineness. The *Protestants* here talk of his removal immediately, and the whispering is that the Duke of York ought to be sent, as the only chance of producing an effect by his influence and station. This I am persuaded cannot

be; but I *believe* the very moment matters get wrong—that is to say, whenever a rising shall take place—the Duke of Wellington will be sent over with *carte blanche*, and supported by a great military force from England. However, I profess that I only speak of the *on dits*.

I am going to town to-morrow, and shall dine in company with some of the Ministers, and shall have an opportunity of hearing what Charles W—— chooses to tell me, and whatever I pick up you shall know. I suppose you are aware Colin Campbell came over express from Dublin and was examined in council, and I was told the guards in Dublin are doubled, and the populace ordered into their houses by nine o'clock.

Ever, &c.,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dec. 14, 1824.

MY DEAR B——,

The result of Colin Campbell's examination in Cabinet shall be conveyed to you in the fullest detail when it takes place; but I have not the slightest belief that the idea of examining him has ever entered into the imagination of any one.

A very interesting private letter on the subject of Ireland from Colonel Shawe, Wellesley's private secretary, has been put in circulation. I sent a copy of it down to Lord Grenville, and have not yet received it back, but you will see it on Friday. We have not yet begun on Ireland, having scarcely got through our foreign questions.

We now think of keeping Lord Combermere in Ireland and sending Lord Beresford as Commander-in-chief of India.

Excuse haste; but really day after day I have passed

from two till six in this Cabinet room, and have scarcely time for anything else, especially as I am working to get down all arrears of official business before the holidays.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Dec. 14, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have got but little out of Wynn; but that little proves to me he is decidedly adverse to the views you have taken of the Irish question; indeed, the language he holds is, "that even if he were to see Ireland in a state of rebellion, he should still persevere in advocating the emancipation of the Catholics, as the best chance of relieving the country from its difficulties. That it is impossible to hold Ireland, as it is now situated, without granting the boon. That the state of the country is such, from increased population, civilization, &c., that England can no longer maintain it as a conquered and subdued province; and therefore, looking to what may arise in Europe, it is a better security for your continued connexion and supremacy to rest on the Catholic population than the Protestant; and by granting the boon you paralyse the resistance of the higher orders of Catholics, who want anything but separation, and would be too glad to keep down the influence of their own dignified clergy." This is the language and feeling of Lord Grenville, with whom he has been this week, and comes hot from him upon it. I am glad you are going there. I cannot subscribe to these opinions, for I think that before six weeks pass you will find the flame burnt further, when you must be driven to the necessity of fighting the Catholics.

At any rate, be assured that, whenever the question arises, it will break up the Government.

Colin Campbell, I find, was not examined; and Wynn says Lord Wellesley writes in confidence, and professing to have his eyes fully open to what is going forward, and aware of everything; if so, I am rather surprised steps have not been taken to ward off the violence and inflammation which exist.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 15, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

While I was in town, the Duke of Clarence called here, and sat an hour with Mrs. F——. Among other things, he said that the Duke of Buckingham had changed his opinions with regard to the Catholic question, and begged to know if it was true. She said it was impossible for her to say, as I had never mentioned the subject. I found that the language of the Ministers in town was to treat the subject of Ireland with much less alarm than the public were disposed to give to it, and to say that the Orange party were frightened at less than has frequently and almost annually occurred in that country. This, however, will not do; for you may rely on it, that the letters which daily come from all parts of the country will continue to increase the apprehension, and compel the Government to take some steps.

The King, Duke of York, and Wellington see the thing in all its danger; and the latter holds this language everywhere, at the same time that he denies the idea even of his going to Ireland.

I really believe, from all I picked up, that the Cabinet

have not yet *dared* to touch the Irish question; but that they have been corresponding with the different Allied Powers on the subject of South America, Greece, and an enlarged system of trade and commerce, so as to be prepared with answers, and to have a good chapter and verse by the period of meeting of Parliament.

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 16, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Whatever has been concocted in all these Cabinet sittings is now finished; for I met Lord Liverpool at twelve this morning coming to the King. He never visits but upon momentous occasions, and therefore I take it for granted he has something to produce which is a *stomacher* for his Majesty. We shall soon learn what it is—nothing remains long a secret.

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 22, 1824.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I did not answer your note till to-day, because I was going to dine with the King at the R. Lodge yesterday, and wished to tell you what passed, or if anything occurred worth repeating.

First, I see nothing new in your discussions with Lord Grenville on the subject of Ireland. The Bill may do something, provided the Catholics wait till Parliament meets

and a Bill shall have passed; but I agree with you in believing that the very moment that the Proclamation touches on the Association, the whole mine will explode; and I own I cannot understand the reasoning on which your friends grant to rebels that which you have heretofore refused to loyal subjects, and that for the purpose of conciliation and tranquillity. It is, however, in my opinion, quite useless to argue or reason on the subject, because my full conviction is, that the Catholics never will wait to see the measure of Catholic emancipation carried, or discussed in the House, attended as it must be with securities and clauses highly objectionable to their feelings, but that you will see the flame burst forth, and terminate in an appeal to arms.

One cannot, with all the news which comes from Ireland, view it in any other way; and I am astonished that your leader or anybody can, in their closets here in England, be calmly and politically discussing what may or may not regularly and gradually be brought forward in Parliament, knowing that they are dealing with a people in the highest state of frenzy and revolt, not for the object of emancipation from Catholic restriction, but from English connexion. I saw a letter from Ireland, which quoted the Archbishop of Tuam's excuse for not quitting his residence for an engagement at Christmas, having been threatened with all his clergy to be murdered previous thereto, and that he thought it would appear like fear if he abandoned his post. I merely mention this as one of the many thousand proofs of fear and inflammation which now daily come from Ireland. How is it possible for the Lord Lieutenant or Mr. Plunket to guarantee against immediate danger when they acknowledge that the whole organization is complete? I am glad you have determined to take no steps till Parliament meets. *I think* matters will advance rapidly before that time, and

give you better opportunities of judging of circumstances, and in the meantime it is quite desirable with your present feelings not to commit yourself.

I attended the Council at Windsor, and from what I observed after the audience, which was very long, great disquiet existed in the minds of H. M. Ministers; there was nothing but whispering and detached discussion afterwards, and it appeared that the King was not in high good-humour or spirits. The party yesterday was rather large: Esterhazy, Sir Charles and Lady E. Stuart, Munster, Sir Charles Long, &c., &c.; of course nothing of a political nature occurred; but Sir Charles Long had been at the Lodge two days, and I don't think this would serve to remove any difficulties in the King's mind. Lord Maryborough talked to me of the great danger existing then, and his full expectation of a rising. I thought the King not looking well, and not in spirits; he was very lame, and complained much of his infirmity—however, he ate and drank as usual. Not one word was said or adverted to respecting Ireland, or the state of that country. He asked after Lord Grenville, and I said you were there. He knew Lord Bathurst had gone from Windsor.

I don't believe one word of Lord George Cavendish's[1] purchase. Your brother told it me; and when I was in town I made inquiries, and nobody knew of it; and I was told Lord George had himself declared he did not possess 10,000*l.* in the funds. If he has made the purchase, he must therefore have sold other property for the purpose, and we have not heard of it. I cannot believe it true.

Adieu, my dear Duke,

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

[1] Created, 1831, Baron Cavendish and Earl of Burlington. He died in 1834.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hyde House, Dec. 24, 1824.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

My son carries out with him a commercial treaty, with credentials for a regular mission, himself to be secretary of legation, and to remain on Morier's expected return *chargé d'affaires*. Thus the Mexican question is disposed of, and Campbell goes with the same instructions to Columbia. Though I have no doubt this will be in all the papers immediately, yet as *secrecy* was enjoined to the public, I will beg the favour of your Grace not to mention it. I am afraid this will not raise me above the opinion you must have entertained of me from the circumstance of my unsealed letter. I am glad, however, I am in such good company as Charles Wynne. I hope all India will not be convulsed from what was or might have been disclosed.

The S. American question being at rest, or nearly so, the thorny subject of the Cabinet, I have heard, is Greece. The magnanimous Calmuck says, as you acknowledge S. America, I have a right to acknowledge Greece. True, say we, but not to join her against the Turks, &c. &c., for we do not join against Spain. Your Grace perceives there is no end to such questions. Lord Sidmouth's retirement has, I am told, restored the equilibrium of the Cabinet on many points. You will have noticed and not believed the many reports of other retirements.

Your Grace's faithful and much obliged,

R. WARD.

CHAPTER VI.

[1825.]

O'CONNELL'S PROCEEDINGS — PROPOSED CHANGES — APPOINTMENT OF HENRY WARD — STATE OF IRELAND — O'CONNELL'S INFLUENCE IN IRELAND — DIFFICULTIES IN PREPARING A KING'S SPEECH — DETERMINATION TO PUT DOWN THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION — PARLIAMENTARY DISCUSSIONS — THE KING'S HEALTH — HIS DISSATISFACTION WITH HIS MINISTERS — PROCEEDINGS RESPECTING THE BILL FOR SUPPRESSING THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

CHAPTER VI.

THE inflammatory speeches of O'Connell had at last excited the Government to attempt a prosecution; but the grand jury threw out the bill of indictment, the evidence as to his utterance of certain treasonable expressions having been defective. Rumours of important changes were again freely circulated; one being that the Marquis Wellesley had offered to return to India, and that the Duke of Buckingham was to succeed him as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; another, that the Duke was to go to India as Viceroy, and Lord Amherst to be recalled. A letter from Mr. Ward appears to imply that, in the circulation of these statements, some intrigue was on foot.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Jan. 5, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

I find from Peel that the Government report of O'Connell's speech expressed his wish for the appearance of a Bolivar, in the event, not of a similar oppression to that of S. America, as stated by most of the newspapers, but of Par-

liament failing to relieve them. I have no doubt whatever, from what passed in court, that it will turn out that some of the reporters gave a different account of the words used to the grand jury, and that it was on this discrepancy in the witnesses for the prosecution that they properly, perhaps, threw out the bill.

The letter to which I referred yesterday was a report from Brig. Major Mahoney, and gave a more satisfactory account of the three counties to which it referred than I have yet seen of any district—indeed, rather too good a one to be credited. He particularly mentions instances of the restitution of property, or compensation for it, taken by violence by the peasantry in the disturbances of the preceding year.

He dwells much on the active exertions which have been used to create alarm among the Protestants, and utterly denies any foundation for it in that district.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Jan. 3, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I am this moment come from Bagshot, where I slept last night. I there tried through the *female* channel to gain whatever intelligence I could on the subject of L—— W——'s offer; but be assured not an idea has been opened in this quarter, and I am at a perfect nonplus to ascertain how the business stands. I shall go to town again, but I have no hopes of succeeding; and as to my *means* of accomplishing the object of the Irish Exchange, I am sure you cannot for one moment believe that I would not move

heaven and earth to do so, if I had the means; I know your feeling about it, and this I have expressed right hand and left. As to what the Government intend, I can assure you all that I know on the subject is really what I told you, that the messenger was sent, and I am yet ignorant what information he was charged with to you. I did not know that Wynn has asked you for a statement of the conversation with Lord Liverpool, till you told me.

W. H. F.

R. P. WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Spring Gardens, Jan. 6, 1825.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

Did I ever tell your Grace that report here sends you to Ireland, if not immediately, certainly when Lord W.'s time is out? I should a little fear for your health, knowing your energy, if this report be true; in all other respects we should be the gainers by the exchange, and I do not think in this your Grace will suspect me of paying *too* high a compliment.

Canning has been most pointedly attentive in modelling the treaty, so as, in my son's opinion, to make it without obligation. His title is *chargé d'affaires* at once, without being secretary of legation, where there is not to be an envoy; so that Morier is recalled outright, and Henry chief in his own right, though with the lowest title. This assignment is made to avoid too much *éclat* to the recognition at first. It is a little ridiculous that the foreign ministers are all debating whether there is any recognition at all, even after C.'s official information to them. One of them was clumsy enough to come to my son, presuming on an old acquaintance with him abroad, and asked him in terms whether there was an express article

of recognition. Henry laughed at him for his pains, and he begged pardon.

I am ever your very faithful,

R. WARD.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Jan. 8, 1825.

MY DEAR B——.

I have received a long, most interesting, and satisfactory letter from Frankland Lewis,[1] which I thought showed so much observation and good sense that I sent it down to Bath to Lord Liverpool. I am very anxious to do everything which may promote his appointment to the chief secretaryship on the first vacancy; as, independently of my regard for him, I really think he would fill it more usefully and beneficially than any other person whom I could name.

He mentions that he has been himself in twenty-two counties, and that, with his colleagues, he may say that they have really been in every corner of Ireland, and that they all agree in the opinion that there is no ground for immediate alarm, and that the Catholics are too well aware of the advantage which they enjoy from Lord Wellesley's Government to hazard his recall and the revival of the high Orange system, which would be the probable effect of any insurrection.

He describes the real alarm as very great; numbers of persons having sat up on Christmas-eve in Dublin in

[1] Appointed Secretary to the Treasury in 1827, and Vice President of the Board of Trade. He was subsequently one of the Poor Law Commissioners, and was created a Baronet. His son, the Right Hon. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, has recently been Chancellor of the Exchequer.

expectation of waking dead corpses, if they allowed themselves to go to sleep. This I heard also from Peel, who describes the alarmists as doing incalculable mischief by talking before the Catholic servants of the massacre, &c., till they have brought many of them to expect it as a thing which must be, though they are sorry for it, and every day their minds become more and more familiarized with the idea. Lord Wellesley I find has written to Peel in very high spirits and good humour, expressing great contempt for the attacks of his Orange antagonists, both clerical and lay. There is much idea that the grand jury threw out the bill in order to spite Plunket; but I think from what passed in court, it is reasonable to believe it probable that the reporters varied in their account of O'Connell's language.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Sunday.

I have also heard from Lord Combermere, who says "Christmas and New Year's days have passed off as quietly as I expected they would, and you may rest assured that the year 1825 will pass off as quietly."

THE RIGHT HON. W. G. PLUNKET TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dublin, January 9, 1825.

My Lord,

An afflicting domestic loss has prevented my sooner answering your Grace's letter of the 1st inst., and expressing the sense which I entertain of your kindness and confidence. There is no matter connected with the state of the R. Catholics on which I shall not be most anxious to

know your Grace's views and opinions, and to avail myself of the permission which you so kindly offer me of communicating my own.

The popular leaders here have been, for some months past, very wild and mischievous; when I say mischievous, I rather mean with reference to the effects, to the prejudice of their own cause, which they are, I fear, so generally producing on the public mind in England; in this country, and amongst the main body of the population, I think very little sensation is excited by this bombast. The people are, I think, tranquil and industrious, enjoying the advantages of the good times, and disposed to place great confidence in the Irish Government. All the rational friends of their cause in this country are disposed to deprecate the bringing forward their measure in either House of Parliament during the present Session. Even without that excitement, I fear many of their English parliamentary supporters may be exposed to formidable opposition on their elections. Though the conduct of many, indeed of most, of their public meetings here has been highly provoking (so much so as to justify, as far as they alone are concerned, the application of strong measures), still I sincerely hope, considering how desirable it is to avoid any step which may force on the notice of other countries the unsettled state of Ireland, that we may not be compelled to such a course. Admonition and private remonstrance may, perhaps, effect every useful purpose; indeed, one of the great misfortunes of Ireland is, that we have not any regular and safe channel of communication with that body. This is one of the principal reasons why I have always been so anxious for a settlement with the R. Catholic clergy.

On the subject which your Grace refers to connected with the East, I never have heard our Lord-Lieutenant express

a wish, and, in my opinion, he does not entertain any views of that nature.

There are topics in your Grace's letter on which I forbear any observations. I should grieve to interpret them as intimating any misunderstanding or weakening of union among those whom I so highly respect and regard.

I am, always, most seriously and faithfully,
Your Grace's servant,
W. PLUNKET.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Jan. 10, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I came to town this morning after I got your note. I do not question the information you have received regarding Wellesley's offer, but I have no means of ascertaining the fact, or in what way it may have originated: I can, however, assure you from my own knowledge, that whether the offer has or has not been made, it has caused no change whatever in the conduct of the Government. They deprecate the recall of Lord Amherst, and, as far as I can judge, are determined not to compromise this opinion by the suggestion (public or private) of Lord Wellesley or any other individual as his successor. My own opinion is, that if they have had such a communication from Lord Wellesley, they have not, and will not take any step whatever upon it.

Ever, my dear Duke,
Most faithfully yours,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

MR. R. PLUMER WARD TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hyde House, Jan. 22, 1825.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

What you are so good as to communicate to me seems most extraordinary, used as I have been to see very extraordinary things among public men. I was made aware, after writing to your Grace on Thursday, that Sir T. Munro was the military officer designed to proceed to Bengal, and from the spirit of the Direction being pursued, no one but must concur with your Grace in the prophecy, that if he goes, though only *ad interim*, it will not be easy to get him back. It is surely, therefore, most imperative upon the India Board, against whose constitutional authority the spirit is levelled, to prevent his going. In telling your Grace what I had heard (which was from undoubted authority), that the Directors would be glad to place you at the head in India, provided this would remove Wynn at home, I thought I was only doing my duty as a friend to him as well as to yourself; as, if you did not know it, it was but right that both of you should know what was in agitation. But I assure you in anything I had heard, there was not the most distant allusion to any interference or demonstration on the part of C——; and I am therefore most sorry at what you say of him, in which I would hope you were mistaken, did I not know that you must have some grounds for so decided an opinion.

I return in so very short a time to town, that I am still sorry to despair of accepting your kind invitation to Stowe; and when I get back to the office, there is business to detain me longer than I like to think; it being, in fact, the very busiest part of the year in bringing the grandees of the

Civil List to final audit. I most truly rejoice in the account your Grace gives of your health, and beg to thank you for it; being always,

My dear Lord Duke,

Your sincere and obliged,

R. WARD.

I shall be anxious to know (as I hope I may) the opinion of the King.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, Jan. 25, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have been in town some days past, but have really nothing to communicate that will interest you. I have seen no Minister whatever but Wynn, and I do not learn what has been the result of the King's reference of your statement to Lord Liverpool. I dined at the Royal Lodge on Friday, but not a word passed on the subject, and your name was not mentioned. You may rest assured that whenever the discussion arises I will not fail to state the circumstances as you have detailed them by showing *your last letter* to me. I am still confident (as far as I can be) that the Government have taken no step whatever to recall Lord Amherst, or to change the station of Lord Wellesley. The Court of Directors have also suspended all further proceedings, and I believe are not disposed to take on their own responsibility the strong step of Lord A——'s recall. The accounts from India are on the whole more favourable, and the sickness at Arracan diminishing.

Young Wortley moved in the H. of C., and Lord Verulam in the Lords. Heber has suddenly and unexpectedly re-

signed Oxford, and no one can conjecture who will succeed him. It is imagined they will not take a second Christ Church man. Faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

The organization which the great Irish agitator had completed, as much with a view to his own importance, as to the embarrassment of the Imperial Government, was now in full activity.

SIR HENRY PARNELL TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Daventry, Jan. 27, 1825.

MY DEAR LORD,

I feel extremely obliged to your Grace for your kindness in respect to the registry of the freeholders on your Grace's estate in the Queen's County, which business I nearly completed before I left it, with the assistance of Mr. Fishbourne.

Before I received your Grace's letter, I felt that the Catholic leaders were doing so much to counteract all the efforts of their friends in Parliament, and connected with Government, to serve them, that I paid a visit to Dr. Doyle, and represented to him in great detail the various ways in which they offended the feelings of the people of England, embarrassed Lord Wellesley, and alarmed their Irish Protestant supporters. He received my remonstrances with every appearance of admitting the reason of them, and so far showed he was in earnest, that he went to Dublin the following day, and obtained a promise from Mr. O'Connell not again to mix up with emancipation other questions which involved the best interests of the Constitution and the Established Church.

As Mr. O'Connell in some of his subsequent speeches, has explained away what he said before, concerning these questions, I believe that some impression has been made upon him. I know that all the respectable Catholics disapprove of his very impudent course of conduct. But he possesses such power with the mob, and indulges in such severity of language against any persons who at all oppose him, that he intimidates all the moderate party from expressing their own opinions.

Violent and impracticable, however, as he appears to be, I judge from my communication with Dr. Doyle, that it would not be very difficult for the Irish Government to bring him and the other leaders under some control. But I feel certain that well disposed, as I am sure Lord Wellesley is, to act with great kindness and liberality towards the Catholics on all minor matters that are within his power, he is rendered incapable of coming to a good understanding with the Catholics by the counteracting influence that is produced by his chief secretary being of such opposite politics.

In a late conversation I had with Lord Wellesley, in which I suggested the expediency of attempting to get the Catholics of their own accord to put down their Association, I could not avoid observing how strongly he alluded to this circumstance as tying up his hands, and preventing him from being able to appear to the Catholics to be as friendly towards them as he really is. Were the Catholics to see him liberated from those high Protestant advisers with which he is now surrounded, and were he to show but some few favours towards them, I feel certain they would desist from all those meetings and the collection of the Catholic rent, which keep the public mind in such a ferment, and so greatly embarrass the administration of Government.

I hope most sincerely that some experiment of this kind will be tried in preference to making any attempt to put down the Association by a special Act of Parliament; for I feel certain that, in the first place, such an Act will be evaded, and that in the end it will lead to great violence and to systematic rebellion.

I shall have the pleasure of calling at Buckingham House early next week, when I shall be glad to have an opportunity of explaining more fully the opinions I have so slightly touched upon at present.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Yours most truly,

H. PARNELL.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, Jan. 28, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

I regret extremely that it has been and is wholly impossible for me hitherto to give you any information on the subject of the King's Speech, as not even a sketch of it has yet been laid before us, nor have we yet even opened the Irish question. Goulburn is arrived, but Plunket waits for some trial. This is really very unfair on those who wish so far as possible to be guided by his opinions. I wish that I had an opportunity of verbal communication with you; but there have been steps to revive the discussions of December last, proceeding wholly from *foreign* influence, which to my mind manifest a decided wish to break up the Government. Fortunately there is at present such a *unanimity* on the course to be pursued, that I think nothing can be done, and that the mover of discord must succumb; but such has been the course adopted that I really can hardly conceive how, in the present temper, a speech can be expected to

be settled and adopted so as to be delivered by the Lords Commissioners on Thursday.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jan. 31, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

The breeze has blown over very satisfactorily for the present. A note declares our answer to be all that could be expected. The paragraph in the Speech is, "that in conformity with repeated declarations on the subject, measures have been taken towards confirming by treaties those commercial relations in which his Majesty's subjects are engaged with those countries in America which appear to have established their separation from Spain—and that those treaties when concluded shall be communicated."

Plunket arrived this afternoon, and came down to our Cabinet, but it was too late for us to enter into many particularities of business. I have since walked with him homewards, and found him so much tired with his journey that I deferred all further conversation till to-morrow. His decided opinion appears to be in favour of a Bill to suppress the Association, but *not by name*. Upon this we shall have a great battle in the Cabinet.

We in this Speech talk of the great improvement of Ireland, and then state with regret that associations exist whose proceedings are irreconcilable with the spirit of the Constitution, and calculated to disturb the peace and harmony of society, and by exciting alarms and animosity to prevent the extension of capital and further improvement; and recommend the consideration of means of prevention.

Canning appears in earnest at present, and to-day spoke in Cabinet of the near approach of the time when it might

no longer be possible to keep this question in abeyance, and pointed at it as the inevitable result of the inquiries now carrying on.

It is intended, if possible, to prevent either Lords or Commons' Committee from giving an opinion on the Catholic question, but on this head to confine themselves to reporting facts and evidence.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Jan. 31, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have no reason to think that the difficulty rests so much on the question of South American independence as on Ireland; if the King has been meddling with this, be assured he will gain nothing, for the feeling of the country is breast high upon it, and he must give way; even the few ultra-Tories in Cabinet cannot and do not pretend to make head against it. How they will manage the Speech with regard to Ireland is the real difficulty; the Cabinet, *depend upon it,* is engaged in this question daily for hours. Wellesley and Plunket now hold forth that they are only *Ministerial* in agreeing to coercive measures by legislation. The Government say, You the Irish Government must originate them, and we must only comply from the urgency and necessity of your recommendation. Here then the question is at issue; for if a Bill is to be brought in, the intention must be avowed in the Speech. The Anti-Catholics, with the Duke of York at their head, are in great spirits, and you see by the Chancellor's speech at the Lord Mayor's that he means to support the Constitution without *compromise.* Your uncles are loud for *doing nothing,* and I begin to think that they are right, if such a proceeding could be adopted; but the Parliament, the moment it meets,

will do something, and then the Government cannot stand neuter. As to framing a Bill to put down the Association, it is laughed at, and O'Connell has told you he would despise such an attempt. I hear the King is altogether in very bad humour, but this proceeds upon the little distresses of his Boutique. Lady —— is out of town, and won't hear of coming back yet. He has also gout in the knee and wrist, and I believe, excepting the Chancellor and Melville, has seen none of his Ministers. Lord Bathurst still unwell. They *must* have a Speech ready by Thursday, be it what it may. Very few people come to town. If I hear anything to-morrow, you shall know; I will write to you at all events.

Yours, W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 1, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The difficulties of the Cabinet are by no means got rid of; I believe to this moment, four o'clock, they have come to no decision as to the wording of the Speech. The question of the American independence, however offensive to the King, they are united upon; and, depend upon it, although he is backed by all the Allied Powers, he can do nothing to shake the Government on this point.

Plunket is come, and he has been closeted with Wynn for the last two hours, and he is now going to Cabinet, so that I can *pick up* nothing. The decision as to a *law or not* was not settled yesterday, but must to-day; for the King must have the Speech to-night or to-morrow morning, and it must be read to us to-morrow evening. I hear that the Irish Government will not take upon themselves to urge the necessity of a Bill or of any measure to put down

the Association; but they will support it if proposed by the Government. This will never do, for the Government cannot frame a Bill to satisfy themselves or Parliament upon it; and yet, depend upon it, the King and the Tories of the Government will insist upon something being done. If I were to judge of inuendos and whispers and looks, I should augur that the perplexity of the Cabinet bids fair for a dislocation of it. The Duke of Wellington and the Chancellor are the heads consulted by the King, and also the Duke of York; nothing can be more triumphant than the language and tone of the Tories and Anti-Catholics.

Ever yours,

W. H. F.

"To-day," writes the Lord Chancellor, "we have Cabinet in Downing Street and Council at Carlton House to try if we can make a good Speech for the King. But there are too many hands at work to make a good thing of it, and so you will think, I believe, when you read it." He adds, on the following day: "The King's Speech was settled yesterday, in the ante-room to his bed-room, he having too much gout to come down stairs. His arm, in which part of the disorder is, was slung in a black handkerchief, and he seemed to be in a good deal of pain. I don't much admire the composition or the matter of the Speech. My old master, the late King, would have said that it required to be set off by good reading. It falls to my lot to read it, and I should read it better if I liked it better."[1]

There existed but a very remote probability of

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 121.

the Lord Chancellor liking this or any other proceeding of his colleagues. He knew that on more than one important subject they were not of one mind with him, and this appears to have jaundiced his spirit, and made him more and more dissatisfied with their acts.

Parliament was opened by commission on the 3rd of February. The Royal Speech, after announcing an improvement in the state of Ireland, referred to the Catholic Association as irreconcilable with the spirit of the Constitution, and required Parliament to consider, without delay, the means of applying a remedy to the evil. The address met with no opposition in the Lords, but in the Commons Mr. Brougham made a sharp attack on the measures of Government with reference to the Association: as will be seen, a Bill was prepared to put down this illegal body.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY DEAR B——,

I am happy to say with respect to Ireland that my point is completely carried—not by my, but Wellesley's and Plunket's, representations. The Bill is neither to mention Catholic Associations or Orange Lodges, but to amend and extend the Convention Act, and that against secret societies, so as to comprehend both; Wellesley's recommendation was to name both, but I am convinced that, as I originally contended, it is better to name neither.

I certainly doubt its efficiency to put down the Catholic Association altogether, but I am convinced it will diminish

its numbers and impede its progress; Plunket, however, is more sanguine in his expectations. The other branch goes further, and strikes not only at all secret societies taking any oath not prescribed by law, but at all which exclude any sect tolerated by law, which have branches or divisions, or which require any *oath* to be taken at a time or place not required by law. We are assured the King is again in good humour.

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 4, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The start of yesterday was much more favourable than was expected; great threats were held out, and we had to look for an amendment; nothing could be more injudicious than Brougham's speech, which put the Catholic Association exactly on the grounds which could have been wished, namely, as the representative of the whole Catholic body, and the organ through which that country could alone be heard or maintained in a state of security and peace. The debate had the effect very greatly of separating the Association from the Catholic body, and of disconnecting the increase of the army with any supposed danger in that country. The impression of the House was manifest against the Catholic question altogether, and it is quite clear it has lost ground considerably, and that the Government, as far as Parliament goes, will have no difficulty in it. The feeling against the Association is general, and I may say so even among the Catholic supporters; you are therefore fully borne out in your views of the subject. We shall have a great deal of personal violence and battling in the progress of the measures, more particularly as it is not

intended to ground them by the production of papers, but merely the avowed published record of their proceedings at their meetings. Notwithstanding, it is expected to meet the difficulties of the case by amendments to the Convention Bill, and by additions to the Bills of last year, I still believe the Government will find themselves unable by any legislative measure whatever to restrain the Association from maintaining their system, and raising money and applying it for the purposes they have heretofore done, though not so openly and avowedly. All the other subjects went before the wind; South America cheered to a degree, though I think much of Canning's speech on this subject very indiscreet.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Feb. 5.

MY DEAR B——,

The Court of Directors seem disposed to object to Lord Combermere, but I am told that they will probably assent to his nomination by a majority on Wednesday next. If they do not, we shall probably, notwithstanding the inconvenience of changing Campbell and Colville, the two Provincial Commanders-in-Chief, send Murray; but this, of course, must be a secret, as the knowledge of it would insure Lord Combermere's rejection.

Our Bill will, I think, effectually prevent the collection of rent, and give a fair way out for all those who became members from intimidation; and, indeed, for all the cautious and *moderately violent*, though it may be impossible to prevent repeated meetings to petition against repeated grievances.

The Orange lodges will, I think, find it more difficult to evade. Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 7, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I hope this will find you better. Although I have very little to communicate, yet I will send a few lines to say, that the discussion of Friday on the Report of the Address was not so favourable as on the preceding day. The declaration (of all the Irish who spoke) as to the certain flame which must necessarily follow any penal enactment regarding the Association, and the positive assurance of the identity between the Catholic body and this institution, has had some effect; not, however, as to the general feeling of the necessity of a measure, but in creating more alarm about it than was before apprehended. The call of the House, which is to be strictly enforced by Brougham, is greatly in our favour; as I am persuaded there will be a very great majority for the enactment, but there will be incessant discussion and division in all its stages. The great object was to bring up Plunket on Friday last, but he told us nothing should induce him to speak till he himself took his opportunity, which must be on the introduction of the Bill. Brougham has complimented him in the highest degree; Hobhouse attacked him in the same degree. How this is to be conducted I can't say. By Goulburn's bringing in the Bill, it is made the proceeding of the Irish Cabinet: it was intended that Peel should introduce it.

The K—— is just the same; excepting on the Wednesday previous to the meeting, when he was obliged to have a Council to hear the Speech read, he has never, for one hour, been out of his bed or dressed. He is well enough, having nothing but a little additional inflammation and swelling from gout in his knee and wrist; but as yet Lady —— has never been near him, and has made, and con-

tinues to make, all sorts of shuffling excuses not to return to the Lodge at Windsor. He begins to complain loudly; and I begin to suspect that she is so heartily tired of the labour and cruelty of such a retirement as to be disposed to give up the thing altogether. It was always known that the late Lord —— detested and remonstrated against the connexion; and it is whispered that he left her a written exhortation. Whether this be true or not, I cannot pretend to say; but I can answer for her having resisted all application, and for her having been a complete stranger at Carlton House up to this hour from that of his death.

Sir Charles Stuart has been forced upon Canning by the King for this roving mission. This don't show much increasing favour between these parties; and I believe the dislike has not diminished, but it is less material, because in a greater degree has the public favour increased towards the former. My nephew, John Fremantle, goes attached to the mission; I never knew that till this instant. I suppose it is to make up for the disappointment in having suspended his former appointment to South America.

I have nothing to add.

Ever most faithfully,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 11, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

We had our first essay yesterday, and altogether I think we had the best of it. There is a great embarrassment in the question which nobody likes, but which will be carried by a great majority. The Opposition think it the best ground they can possibly stand on for discussion and attack, and accordingly they will make the most of it. Peel did

very well; Plunket would have answered Denman if we had not adjourned; Parnell went into the whole history of the Catholic question, and was not heard by the House; but his speech was probably meant for publication, and will have its effect. The great points which took with the House, were the direct agency of the priesthood in enforcing the rent; the certainty of its leading to counter associations, and above all, the threats held out against the Protestants who interfered, or dared to object to their tenants paying it. We shall have a host of Irish speaking to-night; but the great object of attraction is Plunket. Your uncles still continue to think the measure most unwise; but after all, they are left in the same perplexity in which you state yourself to be, when they come to the conclusion of what they would do, or in *doing nothing*. It is very well to talk calmly and quietly in one's closet, of rebellion; but it won't do for a Government to leave people to cut one another's throats, without any attempt to prevent it.

You shall hear from me how matters go on. We have carried our question in the Court of Directors of the nomination of Lord Combermere, which they threatened to oppose. The royal concerns go on just the same—the same fretfulness, and inability to persuade the fair one to return.

Canning's daughter marries Lord Clanricarde—a great match for her.

Ever yours, W. H. F.

I will send you the Bill when printed.

The course pursued by Government in endeavouring to put down that powerful but mischievous association, which kept Ireland in a state of rancorous hostility to England, and prevented social and moral improvement throughout the country,

will be found clearly detailed in the following letters:—

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, Feb. 12, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Again an adjournment, and only for the purpose of giving more effect to the Opposition in the reports which may be sent to Ireland. There was no reason whatever why the debate should not have finished last night, but Brougham evidently determined from the beginning that it should not.

The House was not disappointed with Plunket; nothing could have been more effectual than his speech, and nothing ever was more manly and convincing: it was an admirable defence of the consistency of his conduct, and identified him greatly with the Grenvilles. Tierney endeavoured to ward off the effect which the whole of his argument had made upon the House, by his usual ingenuity and personal attack upon the composition of the Cabinet; but although the House was amused, it did not lessen one iota the impression made by Plunket. There was a great feeling against the adjournment, and the pressing it has done them harm. Wynn's declaration with regard to Catholic emancipation was manly, and quite right in his situation, and he was better heard than usual: luckily Sefton and his party were not present. Notwithstanding we shall succeed in this Bill, yet I do believe there is a great feeling increasing as to the injustice of withholding the grant from the Catholics; but as long as the King and the Chancellor are against it, there is no possibility of succeeding, or of preventing a No Popery cry, which would be general; and therefore there can be no use in once more

rendering ourselves the victim of an unnecessary because an impracticable attempt. The thing will proceed gradually; and although the Association put down will not irritate rebellion, yet it will create such a sensation, and already displays such a concentration of Catholic interest that cannot be passed by.

There is nothing further new. I am in daily expectation of Lionel Hervey's return, when I shall hear the exact state of the South American question; and I dread his anger and resentment on the steps which have been pursued towards him, and which I really believe to have been most unjust and cruel.

Ever most faithfully,

W. H. F.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Feb. 15, 1825.

At the rate of four debates per stage, it seems rather doubtful how soon, or rather how late, this Bill may come up to the House of Lords.

I am told that, notwithstanding all the fire and flame of the Opposition benches, the public opinion in this country is very strongly in favour of the measure; and certainly it is most natural that it should be so, since every day's report of the proceedings of the Association is calculated more and more strongly to prove that the real and hardly disguised object is separation.

I live, as you know, very much retired here—almost as much so as at Dropmore; but the best opinions I have met with agree that it really was indispensably necessary to put down this assembly. How *that* is to be done by any law, seems to me very doubtful. But I myself do not hesitate to admit that all good subjects are bound to

concur in enforcing submission to the laws, even although they are not such as we wish to see continued.

The decision must be with Parliament; and if we cannot persuade the Legislature to follow the course which we think the wisest, we are not therefore to encourage or to suffer the supercession of its authority by a self-constituted Association.

I wish I saw a better chance than I can present to my own mind, that this measure would produce its purpose; and that doubt would very strongly have operated on my mind, had I been to advise in a Cabinet on the wisdom of making the attempt. It is, however, not improbable that I might have been silenced (though perhaps not convinced) by the joint opinions of Wellesley, Plunket, and Lewis—all holding the same opinions with me on the general question, but all possessing that sort of local information which I have not, and which is so necessary for a right judgment on the *policy* of this measure.

The question of an opinion in Parliament includes a new and very important element—viz., when such an attempt is determined upon by the Government, and still more, when it shall have been adopted by the House of Commons, is it desirable that any discredit or discouragement should be thrown upon it by those of whose parliamentary opinions the decided resistance to all attempts at governing by *mob* assemblies (and such are all such associations as these, however composed) forms the most prominent feature.

This is my present view of the subject; but it is one full of difficulties on all sides, and so it must be when Parliament is required to weather the storm without any attempt to furl the particular sail of which the wind takes the firmest hold.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 18.

MY DEAR B——,

I certainly believe that Canning's speech can have done him no service in any quarter or gratified anybody but himself. Every one who knows anything, knows that it was not the Catholic Question, but general aversion to his personal character, which rendered his success at Oxford impossible. He himself feels that if it be *true* that he did not join in the No Popery cry, he partook of the prey with the rest of the hounds, and kept his disapprobation to himself.

What but this feeling could make him answer Tierney's violent attack with compliments, and civility, and neglect to avail himself of the opening which had been afforded for sarcasm and ridicule?

We shall, I fear, get on very slowly with the Bill, as the Opposition fight the game of delay, and we must ourselves interpose the Army Estimates and the Budget, which will occupy a day each.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 23, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

Sir H. Fane is generally considered as a gallant man. But he is a cavalry officer, which was urged by the Directors against Lord Combermere as an objection, and I had rather, where no purpose is to be answered, avoid a battle with them. Kempt, inde-

pendently of the Duke of Wellington's recommendation, I know bears an extremely high character; but I know not how far he may be practicable and conciliatory.

Of Walker I know nothing. It appears to me that the Government are in debt to Byng, and that he is entitled to some good command.

Pringle appears a very dull man, and has never been in any situation which enabled him to exhibit the sort of ability which is required. His connexion is wholly with the Pitts and Elliots.

I am very sorry that you feel any doubt on the subject of the Catholic Question. It seems to me that the passing of the Bill now before the House, which is undoubtedly strongly coercive, affords a powerful additional reason why those who have at all times recommended conciliatory measures should not now alter their course.

We report the Bill to-morrow, and read it a third time either on Friday or Monday.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, Feb. 25, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

As I know you have heard everything that could be known from Wynn lately, I have delayed writing. The Association Bill will be through the House to-night, but probably will not be in the House of Lords till Monday. The Opposition have put no impediments in the progress of it—first, because they say it will be useless; and next, because they are very desirous it should be out of the House before the Catholic proposition is made. The

greatest interest prevails on this subject, and every exertion made by the respective parties. If you believe Tierney and Lord Duncannon, who have scrupulously examined lists, the measure will be carried in the House of Commons. I have heard this from both of them; and yesterday Lord C—— told me he had seen the list on the other side from a well-informed person who makes out that the proposition will be lost by six or eight votes. My own opinion is that it will be lost by many more. *I* think many will stay away, and that the question has been much damaged by the conduct of the Association, and the petition being given to Burdett.

The King is at last gone to Windsor, and the *family* follow him to-day. He is better there on every consideration, for nothing could be more ungracious and sour than his whole conduct while in town. He is in the very worst temper with his Government, and don't know how to disclose it, therefore tries every way to avoid intercourse with them. His means, however, of proceeding further, if he were inclined, are impracticable; the feeling of the public is so evidently in favour of all the liberal principles with regard to commerce and recognition of the South America, and the apathy of the people also on the subject of the Catholic emancipation renders even that question no longer, apparently, an engine for their overthrow. It seems quite extraordinary that they have not been able to procure more addresses against the adoption of the measure. In the House of Commons these have been despised and unattended to. My opinion of the Session is that we shall have some few very sharp brushes at first, and then it will dwindle down to the same apathy and supineness that it did last year. The House will be generally occupied with *speculative bills* of rail-

roads, &c. Lord Francis Gower[1] was not first-rate, though sensible and well delivered. Thompson wretched. Lord Dudley particularly good, eloquent, and effectual, and I think manly.

The King still in his bed, sulky, out of humour, and therefore venting his spleen when and where he can. It all, however, originates in the domestic concerns. Lady —— is not gone back, and cannot be prevailed upon to embark again so soon as an exile to the royal cottage; until this is brought to bear, he will be restless and angry, and therefore I think it worth while for his Ministers to lay a petition before her.

Most faithfully,
W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 26, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

I send you enclosed a note from Lord Liverpool, from which you will find that the day of reading the Bill a second time is not yet absolutely fixed. I have not yet seen the Catholic Petition, but believe that there is not anything offensive in it. The motion on Tuesday will, of course, be, that the House shall resolve itself into a Committee, and Duncannon speaks very positively of it being carried. I certainly think it would have been far wiser to have delayed it till after Easter, but Brougham and Lord Lansdowne have determined otherwise. I was surprised to hear last night from Phillimore, that Woodhouse, the member for Norfolk (not Lord W.'s son), had expressed to him his intention of voting *for* the Catholics.

[1] The late Earl of Ellesmere.

Canning is rather better, but still not allowed to leave his room. His illness is severe, though it occurs at a suspicious time.

We had very interesting evidence yesterday from Blake, in the Irish Committee, in which he pressed, as the only means of lessening the unconstitutional and dangerous influence which he admitted to be possessed by the priests, Catholic emancipation, accompanied by an increase of the qualification for leasehold voters, from 40*s.* to 20*l.*, and by a maintenance for the priests, which so brought forward, he thought they would thankfully accept. I hear much in praise of the examinations of Frankland Lewis and Leslie Foster before the Lords.

I have not yet seen the Duke of York respecting the Commander-in-Chief, but I understand that Kempt would not accept. Walker is spoken of in the highest imaginable terms, but, I fear, has a very bad temper. It would be very desirable to him, as he has a family, and is poor.

Lord Howard and Byng would be very proper, and I should like much to know whether they would be disposed to take it. Care, however, must be taken if you have an opportunity of ascertaining this, that it should be done in such a manner as not to reach the Duke of York, either at present or hereafter, as it is just one of the points on which he would be most jealous.

The only word of Peel's speech which I wished omitted, was the phrase "attainted TRAITOR," which is not applicable with propriety or in common parlance to a man attainted for treason but afterwards pardoned. The King's pardon takes away the offence as well as the punishment; and I think that in the case you cite, General Fraser would have had no right to resent any man's telling him that he had been attainted for treason, but saved by the King's mercy.

If, however, any man had ventured to call him an "attainted TRAITOR," that man would probably have been run through the body before many minutes had expired. I therefore should not have been surprised if Captain H——, of the Navy, had been hot-headed on this occasion; and Peel has learnt from his early Irish education to be pugnacious:

> "Sir Toby Macnegus much spirit has got,
> And Phelim O'Kettle is apt to be hot;"

but I am most happy to see that the period for these unpleasant consequences has passed over peaceably.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

CHAPTER VII.

[1825.]

DEATH OF THE HON. COLONEL J. H. HAMILTON STANHOPE—PROGRESS OF THE CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL — MUTINY IN INDIA — THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S ESTIMATE OF OFFICERS PROPOSED FOR COMMAND IN INDIA — HIS SUPPOSED WAVERING ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION — THE DUKE OF YORK'S SPEECH — PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS — BROUGHAM AND BURDETT — GRANT TO THE DUCHESS OF KENT FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE PRINCESS VICTORIA — ILLNESS OF MR. CANNING — DEFEAT OF THE CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL.

CHAPTER VII.

A MELANCHOLY incident occurred at this period, that threw a most painful gloom over the entire Grenville family. The Hon. Colonel James Hamilton Stanhope, M.P. for Dartmouth, several of whose communications are included in this correspondence, while on a visit to his father-in-law, the Earl of Mansfield, at Caen Wood, and under the influence of nervous depression, resulting from an unhealed gun-shot wound received at the siege of St. Sebastian, went into a retired part of the estate, and suspended himself from a bough of a tree. His body was not discovered till some hours after life had become extinct. He had served as aide-de-camp to Sir John Moore, to Lord Lynedoch, and to the Duke of York, and had seen much service in Spain, Portugal, Flanders, and France. Besides his merits as an officer, he was a most accomplished gentleman, and possessed considerable literary talent. Colonel Stanhope was the third and youngest son of Charles, third Earl Stanhope.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 6.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Although it will give you the greatest pain, I know the deep interest you must take upon it, and therefore will not delay for the post the communication—an account arrived early this morning from Caen Wood of the sudden death of James Stanhope. He had been ill for the last week or ten days; and I am sorry to say his death was the effect of his own hands; he was found in a wood near the house hanging on the bough of a tree. I know no further particulars of any kind; your uncle Tom told it me at Lord Glastonbury's, but he could not enter on the subject before the latter. The ball which he received formerly had lately moved and given him great pain, and is supposed to have touched the spine and affected his mind. You cannot imagine the sensation it has created in the public mind here. Lord Glastonbury is even worse in nerves and quite fearful to see,[1] but in point of strength I do not see any great difference. Sir H. Halford tells me that he does not think he is in immediate danger. I know how sincerely you will feel for poor James Stanhope, and therefore will not harass you by another word.

Yours most faithfully,

W. H. F.

Stanhope Street, Sunday Evening.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, March 8, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

There are few particulars beyond what you see in the papers regarding poor Stanhope; but since I wrote to you

[1] He died April 26.

I have seen Sir Henry Halford (who comes to my wife), who told me that he had had distractions of this kind to a great degree of late; that Lord Mansfield[1] was so alarmed about it this summer at home, that when he left it, he thought it right to inform his family of it; that a Dr. Glanville had attended him, but not finding himself better, his family had made Halford go to him. He was at that time so bad, that on the first day of this Session he came down to the House, and about seven o'clock left it and roamed about the whole night towards Battersea; in short, he was in such a way that for a short time Halford was obliged to order him to be watched incessantly and controlled. He afterwards got better, and was permitted to shave himself and recommended to go into the country. After all these manifestations you cannot be surprised at its termination.

Nothing can be going on more promising than Parliament; but still I see very great dissension brewing in the concoction and proceeding on the Catholic Bill. The D—— of York is more violent than ever. The Regnante is at last (on Saturday last) gone back and settled at the Royal Lodge; this I hope will put him in good humour, and make things smoother. Adieu. Ever with great respect,

Most faithfully yours, W. H. F.

THE EARL OF MANSFIELD TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Kenwood, March 10, 1825.

MY DEAR LORD,

I was convinced that the dreadful calamity which has befallen us would affect you deeply. I have the consolation of being able to state in answer to yours and the Duchess's kind inquiries, that Lady Mansfield is as well as I could possibly expect her to be under such circumstances.

[1] William, third earl. He died in 1840.

All poor dear Stanhope's papers, I believe, are at present in my custody. In looking for his will, I saw many bundles of letters, but do not remember that any of them were marked as letters from your Grace. My search was entirely for the duplicate of a will, which of course had no resemblance to letters, and therefore I cannot speak positively. He has left directions to his executors to burn certain letters *without reading*. If Lord Stanhope and I should find that we can safely act as executors under the will, the examination of all the papers will of course devolve upon us; and I know that his inclination as well as my own would be to destroy all letters which it would not be a satisfaction to either of our families to preserve; to destroy *without reading* all those which might be assumed to be confidential; or, as in the present instance, to consider those which were reclaimed by the writer as his property and to be restored to him unread. Your Grace may therefore be perfectly satisfied upon this subject.

I have the honour to be,
My dear Lord,
With very great respect and regard,
Your faithful humble servant,
MANSFIELD.

Public attention was once more directed to the progress of the Catholic Relief Bill, which had again come before Parliament; and if the number of petitions for and against the measure, presented to both Houses of the Legislature, fairly indicated the interest it excited throughout the country, both parties appeared to be putting forward their strength for a final struggle. Subsequent letters refer to a

serious mutiny that had broken out in the native army in India—a slight foretaste of more recent troubles.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, March 10, 1825.

There certainly is a very sanguine expectation in town about the Catholic question; but I do not let myself go so far, because, although the change in the public feeling is very perceptible, I doubt whether those whose decision will, after all, be conclusive upon it, are sufficiently convinced of the necessity of its being done *now*.

Ay, quoth the earl, but not to-day!

Whereas, if the measure is now brought forward (as in order to give it any chance of success it necessarily must), with its two most important and indispensable accompaniments of provision for the Catholic clergy, and naming the election qualifications; and if, notwithstanding these, the love of prolonged indecision occasions its being again rejected this year, both those measures will be blown upon, and no endeavours will be omitted—and very small efforts will be sufficient—to render them both as unpopular in Ireland as even the veto was, or Plunket's restrictions, or any of the innumerable contrivances by which we have so often and so ineffectually tried to induce our bigots in Church and State to let us save both from these great dangers.

My firm conviction is, now or never; these next two months will irrecoverably decide between peace, union, and prosperity on one side; and on the other, civil war in Ireland, whenever we have a foreign enemy to support it and profit by it; and in England all the consequences to which such an event would infallibly lead.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, March 10, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

This alarming intelligence from India has cast a gloom over us, but I am persuaded it is greatly exaggerated; we have seen the Chairs this morning, and they have no more particulars than what you see in the *Courier* of last night. All the accounts are from Calcutta of the 4th of November the latest, and the affair was on the 2nd at Barruckpore, thirty miles distance; they had therefore no details of any sort, no return of the numbers killed, and, up to this hour, there are no despatches or letters from any one member of the Government upon it.

The Indian authorities here are not so much depressed upon it as I should have expected, and consider that it will not spread; fortunately there is nothing in *our proceedings* towards the army that would have given ground of complaint. In the new regulations sent out in November last, the whole system of change was beneficial both as to the promotion and pecuniary concerns of the army. It is said that the Local Government had lately deprived them of some minor comforts in canteens, &c., &c., and that they did not like the idea of entering a very difficult country under privations which they had never experienced in other campaigns. However, be the cause what it may, no one can contemplate a mutiny of the Indian army without feelings of the most alarming apprehension. There was no European or Indian officer who took part with the men; the whole abandoned the regiment when they had no control over them. My own opinion is, that the most serious evil has arisen from the tone and temper of our Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Paget, with whom it has been a fashion

to cry down and despise the native troops; and, of course, this has been followed by his staff, and come to the knowledge of the native army. Nothing can be more reprehensible than his letter on this subject to the Horse Guards, and I shall be delighted when he is removed.

The Catholic question is now that which forms the deepest interest here; I believe it stands just thus—that the Opposition have put the whole of the proceedings into Plunket's hands, and he consults nobody but Lord Grenville, with whom he is in communication almost every morning. The two points of regulation—namely, a provision for the clergy, and an increase in the amount of qualification for voting, are the main considerations, how far they are or are not to form a part of the Bill. I think the first would be impracticable *as a part of the Bill;* first, because it would alarm many of the Catholics' best friends; and next, because it would appear as a purchase of the Catholic priests, if done before the emancipation was carried. Lord Grenville, however, I understand is for such an arrangement.

With regard to the second point, I am sure it would tend mainly to assist the measure, but would alarm the Anti-Reformers, because it establishes a precedent of alteration in the practice of election franchise. If you increase the value in one county, you may diminish it in another. There is a very strong opinion, which spreads, that Lord Liverpool is giving way on this question; I don't believe it myself; but as I know his timidity, I will not pretend to say what will be his ultimate conduct. The Duke of York more violent than ever.

Ever, my dear Duke, with great respect,

Very faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, March 11.

MY DEAR B——,

You will have learned from the newspapers nearly all that I know on the subject of the unfortunate mutiny in India, as the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief seem to be almost the only individuals who have not written home any account of this event. As far, however, as I can judge, I believe the alarm to be, as usual, much exaggerated, and that there is no foundation for the apprehension of general or even extensive dissatisfaction among the native soldiers.

It is particularly observable, that all the native officers, and one company of the privates of the regiment which mutinied, immediately separated themselves from it, and that two other regiments, quartered in the same cantonment and under the same marching orders, co-operated in reducing them. Still the event is a most lamentable one; and if the slaughter be anything like what is stated, the report of it may, I fear, produce great effect among the relations and connections of the slain.

The only letter which I have seen from a person actually present at Barruckpore, leads me to believe that this is very much overrated, as he speaks of a "good many killed," but more made prisoners.

I regret to say that the outcry against the incompetence of Lord Amherst comes home from all quarters, and that it appears to be such as, even if unmerited, renders it highly improbable that he can continue to discharge the duties of a situation for which reputation and *opinion* must be the first qualifications. He has been in some respects most unfortunate, and, as in the present instance, suffers from

events for which he is not personally to blame; but I fear there is a general degree of inefficiency, which could only be supported by very able advisers. Of these the illness of Adam, and some other chance events, have deprived him, and he now resigns himself to the Commander-in-Chief, of whom, from what I have seen, I think more unfavourably than of Lord A. himself.

The question is, if Lord Amherst comes home, whom can we send? What man is there of the talent and weight which would be demanded, who would be willing to go? There are great objections to the union of the civil and military command, as then the whole civil government is in time of war left to the Council; yet *military reputation* is the only article of which we possess sufficient to spare from home.

Were Lord A. to die, or return of his own account, I should not hesitate, *totis viribus*, to urge the appointment of Sir Thomas Munro, now Governor of Madras, as I think he would discharge the duty better than any other man; but it would not be so easy to name him to supersede Lord A.

You have never answered my question about Sir George Airey. Fremantle thought you knew him. The Duke of Wellington has given me the following list for Madras and Bombay:—

Sir H. FANE,
Sir G. WALKER,
Sir T. BRISBANE,
Sir T. BRADFORD,
Lord E. SOMERSET,
Sir J. LAMBERT,
POWER,
Lord AYLMER.

He says the two first are the best, and next Lord Edward; then Brisbane, Bradford, and Power; Lord Aylmer much better than Sir J. Lambert.

Lord G. is all anxiety, and almost as sanguine as I am in his hopes on the Catholic question.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, March 26, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

I send you in another parcel as much as is yet printed of the evidence before the Irish Committee. We have now reported the minutes to the House, and therefore this, as well as what has since been taken from Bishop Doyle, &c., will soon be printed together.

I thought, however, that you would like now to read Blake's and O'Connell's, without waiting for the rest.

I have certainly less hope of the Catholic question than I had ten days ago. If it fails, it is a poor consolation that it will be attributed pretty generally to the manœuvres and intrigues of Tierney and Lord Grey. Rice, however, says that notice will be given on Monday of the bringing forward of the two concomitant measures.

With respect to India I am decidedly against a Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in one. Lord Hastings has done mischief enough in those capacities, very much because there was more to be done than one man could properly attend to. If Lord Amherst is recalled, it shall not be in favour of a man who has his business to learn.

Sir T. Munro is actually in India as Governor of Madras, and far the ablest man we have. Lord Amherst's feelings

must, I am aware, on such an occasion, be overlooked; but it is most distressing that if we send out now our orders to Munro to proceed immediately to Calcutta, Lord Amherst would have to remain there between two and three months as a private individual.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, April 4, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

I do not understand what is passing about the Catholic question. There certainly is an apathy and indifference in the Protestant party, which looks as if they would be well contented to be rid of the question if it could be carried without their confessing any change of opinion. Even the D—— of York is unusually passive, and I do not hear of any exertion of any kind making either by him or the King, who, I am told, does not at present affect to care upon the subject. Some of the bishops have begun, I am told, to hold language which shows they think it advisable to be prepared, if *necessary*, to mount cardinal's hats.

My greatest fear is, that in the very probable event of a considerable increase of support, but ultimate failure in, the House of Lords, the Catholics will have discovered that they have in fact made a greater step to success by the alarm which the Catholic Association excited, than by their good conduct during the Queen's trial, and all the arguments their friends could ever urge in their favour. If they choose to act upon this, and really to bully in good earnest, emancipation would be thrown at their heads in six months.

The evidence has produced great effect, but to what extent we can as yet but imperfectly judge. If the Bill were carried by a majority much increased in the Commons, I think Lord Liverpool would avail himself of this as a reason for its passing the Lords. What he would like best would be to hang it up for another year, and *take further time to consider.*

The continental powers profess now to be in good humour again.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

MR. R. PLUMER WARD TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Spring Gardens, April 11, 1825.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

The anticipation as to the Catholic Bill is, that it will be carried by a small majority (about twenty, they say) in the Commons, and thrown out by not an extremely large one in the Lords. But I think the general opinion (even among the Protestants) points to the cause being ultimately gained. In a long conversation I have had with Lord Sidmouth about it, he told me he did not like to ask himself how much the public opinion had changed. The argument which I know weighs with many is, that by granting the present demand, you stop for ever all further alteration in regard to the Protestant establishment, which should it be proposed, you will unite all the present friends to the Catholics, including many Catholics themselves, against them. However this may be, I own I am far from thinking the present concessions, whenever made, will quiet the Catholic pretensions in future.

Your Grace's much obliged,

R. WARD.

We must break in upon these political matters for a moment with a communication on a very different subject.

SIR WALTER SCOTT TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 12, 1825.

Touching the clan tartans, I have always understood those distinctions to be of considerable antiquity, though probably the distinction was neither so accurate nor so invariably adhered to, as it is in general the custom to suppose. I have myself known many old people that were out in 1715, and I have understood that, generally speaking, the clan tartans were observed by the more numerous and powerful wearers. But many used a sort of brown and purple tartan; and there were men from remote corners that had no tartan at all, nor plaid either, but a sort of dress worn by children in Scotland, and called a polony (polonnaise, perhaps), which is just a jacket and petticoat all in one, buttoning down in front from the throat to a palm's breadth above the knee. Very many had no bonnet, their shaggy hair being tied back with a thong or garter; and very many had neither hose nor shoes. The custom of clan tartans arose very naturally: the weaver was, after the smith and carpenter, a man of consequence, whose art was transmitted from father to son; and when he lighted on what he thought a good *sett*, or mixture of the colours, he was unwilling to change it, and the clan, creatures of habit in most instances, gradually became attached to it, and adopted it as a sort of uniform of the tribe. It is certain that, in 1739, when the Black Watch, or independent companies of the Highlanders, were formed into the 42nd Regiment, a doubt arose what tartans they should wear, as hitherto the independent companies had worn the colours of those officers who commanded them. But some of these being entitled to a

preference which others would probably have resented, there was formed a new sett, composed out of different tartans, and still known as the 42nd colour. Again, in 1745, when the Chevalier landed, he chose a tartan for himself of a colour different from any clan tartan which existed, to avoid showing a predilection for any particular tribe; and I have heard repeatedly that the Stewarts, both of Athole and Appin, grumbled a little that he did not take the colours of his own clan. Indeed, a moment's consideration will show that, if the distinction of clan tartans had not existed at the time of the 1745, it could never have existed at all; for there was neither time nor means to introduce it at the time of the rising, when all came with such clothes as they had; nor was there a possibility of introducing such distinctions after 1745, when the dress was prohibited by Government, under the penalty of imprisonment and transportation. The poor Highlanders were reduced to great distress by this law; most of them, both unwilling and unable to obtain Lowland dresses, endeavoured to elude the law by dyeing their Highland tartans to one colour—dark green, crimson, purple, or often black. I have seen them wearing such dresses myself, as long since as 1785. I have no doubt that Mrs. MacLeod dined with a party of gentlemen dressed without the least respect to clan colours, for it was no time to observe these distinctions when the plaid itself was an illegal garb. Her mother was not married till long after 1745, so she can have no personal recollections of what the Highlanders did before that period. By the way, the MacLeods at Dunorgan might drink Charles's health, but they fought for King George, and were defeated by Lord Lewis Gordon, at Inverary. So much for Highland dress. I could say a great deal more, but it would only be tiresome. I must, however, add that,

although I am sure I could show that the clan tartans were in use a great many years before 1745, I do not believe a word of the nonsense about every clan or name having a regular pattern, which was undeviatingly adhered to; and the idea of assigning tartans to the Douglases, Hamiltons, and other great Lowland families (who never wore tartan) has become so general, that I am sure if the Duke of Buckingham had asked at some of the shops in Stirling or Edinburgh for his own family tartan, they would not have failed to assign him one.

As to the kissing affair, it was a great fashion among the Scots of the last generation, male and female. On the other hand, as every period has its own fanciful limits of decorum, I remember old people being much shocked at seeing the modern fashion of gentlemen affording the full protection of their arm in leaving the drawing-room with their fair partners, whereas old-fashioned etiquette only permitted such a slight junction of the finger and thumb as was allowed in the minuet. "I canna bide to see them oxtering the men that gate," was the observation of an old Scotch lady of fashion to me, scarce a dozen years since.

* * * * * * *

As much of this letter is intended to satisfy his Grace of Buckingham's curiosity about the Highland dress, I take the liberty of putting it under his cover. There remains ample room for a most interesting and curious dissertation on the gradual alterations which were produced in the Highlands from the period of Montrose's wars, when they first began to make some figure in history, down to the present day. This will scarce be done, however, for the Highlanders contend for everything, and are under the great misapprehension of supposing they derive honour from manifest fables; whereas there is another set of cold-

blooded folks who will not allow them the merit which they certainly deserve. Thus far is certain, that this is the only case in which it might be distinctly shown how civilization broke in on patriarchal habits. Many of the Highland chiefs in the earliest part of the eighteenth century had two distinct characters—that of an accomplished gentleman in London; and beyond the Highland line, that of a chief of an almost independent tribe.

The second reading of the Catholic Relief Bill was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of 27, on the 21st of April. It was on the 24th, while presenting a petition to the House of Lords, from the Dean and Chapter of Windsor against the Bill, that his Royal Highness the Duke of York delivered his celebrated speech against Catholic emancipation.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, April 21, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

What you say regarding the Catholic question is perfectly true; it is greatly damaged by its friends, and, in my opinion, is as seriously opposed as ever it was. Brownlow's speech was valuable from the manner and quarter from whence it proceeded, and as far as the debate went it was an acknowledgment, even from Dawson, "that things could not remain as they were." Canning is, I am satisfied, holding back; it would appear from the names of the individuals who have given notice of the Election Franchise and the Clergy Support Bills, that he must have been a party to their objects; but he told Tierney, who re-

peated this to me this morning, that he had never been consulted upon the subject, and he "hoped these gentlemen were aware of what they had undertaken, and of the difficulties in which they were likely to involve themselves and the question of Catholic emancipation." Now this appears very strange; for I know from Wynn and Phillimore, who were on the Committee to prepare the Bill, that they (the Committee) had notified to Canning their intention of coupling it with these Bills.

I have no doubt we shall carry this first Bill to-night by about twenty-five, but not more, and then we shall have great dispute in the Committee on the clauses, particularly on the securities; and their discussion will delay the matter so as to prevent the Bill going up to the Lords for at least ten days. As to the two other Bills, I cannot give you an idea as to what may be their fate; I should very much doubt either of them being carried. There is a very odd report that the Duke of Wellington begins to waver on the question; whatever may be the state of his mind at present, I am quite sure he will oppose the Bill this year. I dined with him last Sunday, when there was a large party, and among others Sir Geo. Hill, and the conversation turning upon this question, he said, *laughing*, "Ay, you will know how my opinion is when I give my vote; I wait for argument." This called forth, in the same sort of affected laugh, an exclamation of surprise from Hill. Tierney told me, that in a conversation he had had with the Duke, he clearly saw that the same determination did not prevail in his mind as heretofore on this question. Wilson is to speak to-night; he attacks the Franchise Bill as a ground of his not voting for this. I see that Tierney is building all sorts of events on the disputes and discussions which must arise in the progress of these Bills. If I am to

give you my opinion of the result, it is this, that we shall send up the Emancipation Bill to the Lords, who will reject it, and we shall throw out the two other Bills.

Ever, C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, April 22, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

My accounts from Acton[1] are as satisfactory as I could hope, except as to poor Sir Richard, who is still in that distressing situation of being completely *stunned*, and has not yet been able to shed a tear, and whose general health is by no means such as is calculated to support such an affliction. The charge and care of the children, upon whom he doats, are most likely to afford him relief.

Lady Cunliffe goes on tolerably well, but I have great apprehensions as to the final effect upon her.

The division last night was, I think, a very good one on the Catholic side; a greater number voted for them than on any former occasion—twenty-two pairs. So there must have been in the course of the night 558 members present, exclusive of those who went away, not meaning to vote, of whom there were several. I was, however, disappointed in the number of opponents, as I thought that there would have been more who would have stayed away.

Canning has had more gout, in consequence of the levee of Wednesday; looked ill, and spoke evidently in severe pain, but extremely well.

I have seen Nichols yesterday, and also Sir Herbert Taylor; so I think you may spare yourself a letter to the former.

[1] Denbighshire, the seat of Sir Foster Cunliffe, whose daughter Mary was married to Mr. Wynn.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY DEAR B.,

I have been very glad to hear to-day from Fremantle that the Duchess of Gloucester, on the King's part, disclaims all knowledge of the Duke of York's speech, or participation in his sentiments; and adds that Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington are extremely angry. The speech is placarded all over the walls &c., and I hear that in one place there is "Damn the King. The Duke of York for ever." This will not tend to reconcile the mind of the former.

I saw Canning yesterday, and found him better, but still in much pain. He has formerly consulted Scudamore, and did not at all like him. He goes to-morrow to Coombe Wood, and remains till this day se'nnight, when he comes up for the third reading. The debate in the House of Lords is, I understand, to take place this day fortnight.

What Lord Liverpool's view can be, and on what ground he can wish to defer the settlement of a question which is now on all sides considered as carried, I cannot conceive.

Fremantle has just come in to tell me that in consequence of Burdett's being laid up by a bad fit of the gout, the Committee on the Bill is deferred till Friday—so when it will be passed Heaven knows. I can, however, conceive that in the absence of Burdett and Newport from illness, there might be great danger of Brougham and Tierney leading the Opposition into some crotchet to alter the Bill in a prejudicial manner, merely out of spite.

Brougham is in the highest degree indignant at the castigation which he received from Burdett on Littleton's Bill, and declares his intention to retaliate, so we shall have some sport.

Ever affectionately yours, C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, April 27, 1825.

MY DEAR B.,

The highly indecent and improper speech made by the Duke of York on Monday, has produced a certain degree of effect by reaction, but one cannot flatter one's self that it tells to such an extent as to be really material; and yet upon Lord Liverpool and the others, who, like Morgiana to the Forty Thieves, answer "Not yet, but presently;" it ought to be decisive. How the King takes it I do not know, but one should imagine that it cannot be very agreeable to see a person only twelve months his junior assume all the airs of Heir-Apparent, and pledge himself as such to an interpretation of the Coronation Oath from which the King is precluded.

Brougham's yesterday was a very bad speech, except in the attack on the Duke of York. Plunket's answer most powerful, and Burdett's extremely good. Brougham carried with him Lambton, Creevey, Sefton, Denman, Hume—in all, I should think, from fifteen to twenty; but after the division, stated that he should not offer any further opposition to the Bill. We had a good many Irish in the majority, and country gentlemen; the Clives, Lord Stopford, Tremayne, Corbett, Dowdeswell, and others.

I have just been at Court, and found the King more gracious than usual.

The adoption of the two subsidiary measures will, of course, retard the main Catholic Bill in its progress; so that I think it is impossible that it should reach your House before the week after next. Lord Chelsea is announced as a convert to us, and some other peer, whose name I did not hear.

Tremayne declares his determination to vote, at the

hazard, indeed the extreme probability, of an opposition in Cornwall at the next election.

The King spoke to me about poor Lord Glastonbury, and told me of his will, which I had not heard of.

Walker is appointed to Madras, but Bombay is still vacant.

Our news from India is, on the whole, very satisfactory, and must, I trust, lead to the termination of a war from which nothing is to be got. From all accounts, I trust that the Sepoy mutiny was wholly insulated, and unconnected with any general feeling; but I hear that the Court of Inquiry have reported *against* the measures of the Commander-in-Chief.

I certainly believe that a Paget is nowhere *so* much out of his place as in India.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Canning's continued gout is a matter of serious uneasiness, and seems to threaten, from the duration and quick return of the fits, to drive him out of active employment.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, April 27, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Our division on the Franchise Bill was very large last night, and so far is serviceable to the general question; but this will not add to our majority on the third reading. The great feature of the debate last night was the thorough beating which Plunket gave to Brougham, and the separation announced by Burdett from the latter to his followers. I have no idea that this will take place, but it must throw a considerable degree of coldness and bad blood among the party. Plunket was most eloquent and brilliant, and highly

cheered. Nothing can be more ill judged, and nothing is more generally condemned, than the language used by the Duke of York. It will, however, have the effect he intended of injuring materially the Catholic question; for I am quite sure it will strengthen those who began to flag, and depress those who were sanguine. It is yet to be seen what effect it will have on Ireland; I should not wonder if it produced some violent proceedings. One can hardly imagine that he would have taken such a step without communication or understanding with *his brother;* one would think the presumption of appealing to the Coronation Oath as if of *course* he, at the age of sixty-two, was certain of succeeding to his brother of sixty-three, would not be very much relished—indeed the effect of the speech was intended to rest entirely on his succession.

I take it for granted in the further discussions in the House of Lords he will hear of it; I think Lord Grey can never let such a declaration pass unobserved upon. I never heard anybody more violent against it than Lord Harrowby was, whom I rode with yesterday morning, and who talked of nothing else.

W. H. F.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, April 29, 1825.

I am for reasons which you well know not very well qualified to give an opinion on the question you mention—but I own it does not strike me that the indiscreet and very improper declaration which you refer to, makes any change in the situation of the Cabinet Ministers, which was no doubt already embarrassing enough on this subject, but does not seem to me to be made at all more so by this incident.

The D—— of Y——'s sentiments and intentions were

already well known, and his indiscretion in making so very improper a declaration *de futuro* does not seem to me at all to alter the position of those who are now his brother's Ministers, and not his.

If ever he should come to the crown (an event which he seems to anticipate with a confidence rather greater than belongs to the difference of their ages), it is probable that he may save the *Popish* Ministers (as no doubt he thinks them) all trouble of deliberation on the subject; but it would, I think, be both unwise and unseemly in them, *after accepting office in the present state of that question*, to embarrass their master's affairs by taking a new line on the subject, not in consequence of anything done by him, but of something done by another, and of a character which a very slight knowledge of human nature must satisfy them cannot be very acceptable to him.

No man would like to hear his presumptive heir making declarations in public of the alterations which he means to make or not to make in his house on succeeding to it. And this still less when done by a man only one year younger than the actual occupant.

It is manifest to me that the question must now force its way. Some declaration and pledge, by way either of resolution or address, the House of Commons will unquestionably be called upon to make on the failure of this Bill, of a determination to renew and persevere in it; and such resolution so made, and really acted upon, as I think it will be, must in these days be decisive of success.

To throw up now, on the ground you mention, would be to intimate an opinion exactly contrary to this—a very dangerous opinion to promulgate if one really held it, but a very unfit one if one did not, which last is certainly my case. I consider the question as carried, though I do not the less condemn the folly of those (and they are many)

who holding that opinion as strongly as I do, are yet desirous to neglect so favourable an opportunity of doing the thing with advantage now, and at the risk of being forced to it very shortly, and under circumstances greatly more disadvantageous.

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Monday, May 9, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have delayed the answering your letter till I could say something satisfactory respecting the two pictures which you wish to have copied. Forbes, the Scotch painter employed by Lord Stafford, has succeeded extremely well in copying Hoppner's picture of me; he has been taken ill, and is gone to the Caledonian hills to be recovered by his native air; as soon as he returns he shall copy the two pictures for you, at fifteen guineas each, which is, I am told, a cheaper rate than most similar artists would ask. G. Neville and his wife came to town yesterday, and go to Cambridge and to Audley End for a week or ten days, after which I hope to go down with him to Butleigh to burn papers, and to give him possession, which very natural arrangement you, as well as my other friends, in your kindness to me, see with very exaggerated praise.

The Catholic Bill will probably pass to-morrow, though, I suppose, not with so great a majority as has attended the two subsidiary Bills. Nobody knows whether the King was in any degree privy to the Duke of York's celebrated speech and oath; the Duke has certainly said that the King was not; but whether he was or no, everybody supposes that the latter words, which contemplated the succession to the throne, were not very agreeable to the present possessor of it. I am pretty sure that this strange extravagant act of

the Duke of York in building a new house,[1] at the supposed expense of 60,000*l.*, was not communicated to his elder brother; and, therefore, is not likely to have been agreeable to him. Kind love to the dear Duchess, and God bless you.

Ever most affectionately yours,

T. G.

The third reading of the Catholic Relief Bill in the House of Commons passed on the 10th of May, by a majority of 21.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, May 10, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

We shall, I trust, to-night carry the Catholic Bill *handsomely*, notwithstanding the defection of Lambton and squad. The question will come on in your House this day sevennight. Canning is still so unwell that his attendance has been positively prohibited; but Burdett is to make his appearance. I am not surprised that the character of the former should have excited very general suspicion that his malady is of a political nature; but I believe it from my heart to be only too real, and doubt much whether he may not be exposed to so rapid a succession of these attacks as may wholly unfit him for a continuance in his present situation. The King is also again laid up, and confined to his bed by a knee very much swelled.

Sir C. Stuart seems to be going on most prosperously in his negotiation at Lisbon, and I really think that there is a fair prospect of his carrying out a recognition of independence upon such terms as will be accepted at Rio Janeiro.

[1] Now the town residence of the Duke of Sutherland.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

May 12, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

Wellesley has, I believe, never entertained any design of coming over, though the expediency of such a step, and of a regular official communication to the Cabinet of his opinion of the necessity of passing this measure, has, I know, been pressed upon him. I fully believe in the truth of the account which you have heard of the King's disavowal of any part in his brother's speech.

The latter has, I am told, no inclination himself to the intended new house which is to replace that which is pulling down, but that he cannot avoid it, for that he has got a lease for eighty-eight years, under which he is obliged to rebuild. From that obligation you would think he might easily be relieved, so far as the Crown is concerned; but then there are other persons who have advanced money for him on the lease, and compel him to perform its covenants.

This, I suppose, is the explanation of the report that Lord Hertford was to build it for him, on the promise of a grant of it when he should succeed to the Crown.

Lord Howard of Effingham is on this subject quite a steady vote, and, as he is now in consideration of the offer of the command of the Bombay army, which I have made to him, he would be the more flattered by the proxy being sent to him.

We are going to give 6000*l.* a-year to the Duchess of Kent for the education of the Princess Victoria,[1] and ditto to the Duke of Cumberland for his son. The latter is a job, but having expressly reserved myself in 1818 on the

[1] No public grant has been better laid out.

propriety of making provision for the support and education of his children, if necessary, I do not feel that I can now object, though I think the amount somewhat unreasonable for him, who has already 18,000*l.*, besides his regiment. We are also going to make a large augmentation to the judges' salaries, so much does the money burn in our pockets.

I am not aware of any real foundation for the reports of dissolution which have been so prevalent.

I have heard nothing lately about Lord Palmerston, but, from all accounts, his re-election for Cambridge is so doubtful (to say the best of it), that I fully expect him to withdraw from it into the Upper House.

The Duke of Northumberland and Lord Prudhoe have not given any proxies, as it is reported, from the apprehension of danger to their noble persons in a Catholic country; but I believe the latter of the two is very well disposed to support the Bill, and that they have, therefore, made somewhat of a pair.

Ever affectionately yours, C. W. W.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 12, 1825.

I have written to Couper for a proxy, and have desired him to reserve it (when returned to him) till the day before the debate, and then to enter it to your name.

But if (which I earnestly hope will not be the case) anything should occur to keep you away, pray let me know it in time for me to direct an alteration. I trust you will be able not only to attend, but to speak. It never was more necessary. This diminished majority, and, much more than that, the strange declaration made by Huskisson in his own name and that of his right hon. friend, have indeed

thrown us many leagues back. There is, however, nothing to be done but to *bear up and steer right onward.* We are in view of the port, though these adverse winds may still keep us longer tacking up to it than seemed probable.

What man who has any notion of our Constitution could wish to vote 250,000*l.* per annum, to be distributed annually, in salaries, at the *absolute* discretion of the Crown? And, even if this were done, how could that provision, so framed, be established but *by law?*

G.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, May 13, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I hope you will be able to come up for the Catholic question; but if you should not, pray write to Lord Cassilis to say so, for he wished you to have his proxy, as he is not quite free from gout; but if you should not come, and Lord Grenville wishes it, he will set out. Pray, therefore, write to him, as he was so very civil to me about it, and I promised to write to you on the subject. Nothing could have ended worse than the question has, and I think it has estranged the Government. I am quite sure it has created bad blood among them, and the speech of Huskisson the other night lost us some votes. The King is very unwell, and once more in his bed. The knee is the great complaint, which is very much swelled and in pain, and something is apprehended beyond the gout. There is nothing new to tell you.

Ever, with great respect,

Very faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

The Duke of Northumberland, Lord Prudhoe, and Lord Bath, have none of them left their proxies.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, May 14, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

There was yesterday a strong report of the King being dangerously ill, but I believe it to have been raised with a view to Tuesday's division, with no foundation but severe pain from his gout.

Lord Grey is to vote, but expresses extreme lukewarmness, and declares that if the debate should be adjourned over till Wednesday, he will not give up Lord Derby's dinner or the Oaks for anybody. What you tell me of Lord Wellesley is quite new to me; but I am convinced, even independent of that highest quarter, he had it in his power to have produced a great effect, which he has wholly abandoned.

Lord Howard has, after much consideration, declined Bombay, as he thinks himself too old, consequently the offer has been passed on to Sir Thomas Bradford.

It is to be distinctly held out as a motive to the grant for Prince George of Cumberland, that it is to enable his worthy sire to send him over for education in England. I hear Lord Whitworth[1] died suddenly this morning; I suppose by way of a *pair* with poor Lord Glastonbury on the Catholic Question.

Lord Braybrooke,[2] I understand, is to take his seat on Monday. I will make some further inquiry about Weymouth, but conclude that nothing more than the pre-emption can be offered.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

[1] This celebrated diplomatist died without issue, and his title became extinct.

[2] The editor of Pepys. His father died in the preceding March.

The Bill for the Relief of the Roman Catholics came before the House of Peers for a second reading on the 17th of May, when, after an animated debate, it was lost by a majority of 48.

CHAPTER VIII.

[1825.]

THE KING'S KINDNESS TO SIR WALTER SCOTT—DISSATISFACTION CREATED BY THE DEFEAT OF THE CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL—MEETING OF PEERS POSSESSING PROPERTY IN IRELAND—EMBARRASSMENT OF MR. CANNING—PROPOSED COMPROMISE RESPECTING THE CATHOLICS—SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL AND THE BURMESE WAR—AFFAIRS IN INDIA—COMPLAINTS AGAINST LORD AMHERST.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE following letter displays the King's kindness of heart and readiness to answer any proper appeal to his good feelings. Sir Walter Scott was on terms of intimacy with the Keeper of the King's Privy Purse, who was the usual channel of communication to the Sovereign, and the royal dukes and princesses, the bishops, and numerous literary and artistic celebrities engrossed a good deal of his attention with their specimens of polite letter writing. The novelist was then on the point of marrying his son, and thought proper to describe all the details of the match, with the very evident object of having the communication brought under the King's notice. In this he was not disappointed, as will be seen by his friend's reply:—

SIR WILLIAM KNIGHTON, BART., TO SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

June 25, 1825.

DEAR SIR WALTER,

I am honoured with the commands of the King to convey to you his Majesty's very kind regards, and to express the pleasure his Majesty feels at any circumstance that can add to your own personal happiness, or assist in securing the general welfare and prosperity of your family.

His Majesty was graciously pleased to observe that your own genius, so distinguished and so remarkable, would shed a never-failing lustre on that hereditary rank which his Majesty hopes your son will live both to honour and to enjoy.

Kindly intended. Man, however, proposes and God disposes. Little more than thirty years have elapsed, and father, son, grandson—the entire race so honoured by "hereditary rank"—have been swept away, with the Sovereign who conferred the distinction and the friendly medium of communication. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

A proposal for an increase in the income of the Duke of Cumberland having been brought before Parliament, in consequence of a message from the King, the Lord Chancellor thus records his impression of the affair:—"The King had many, as I hear, members of the House of Commons at Windsor, who came to town too late after dinner. This may be very attentive to the Duke's royal brother, but it has wofully bad effects; because, first, it loses the Duke the support of votes; and because, secondly, it makes people believe that the King don't wish that the thing should take effect, which he desired by his message to the two Houses of Parliament should be done; and thus one brother loses what he ought to have in point of revenue, and the other gains what he ought not to acquire—the reputation of indifference, if not of insincerity. This I lament much, because my own perfect con-

viction is, that a kinder-hearted man than the King in general is, and a more sincere person about any object than he has been about this, cannot be; and therefore I grieve that arrangement and management should be so very incautious, and that the consequences of it should defeat what *one* so much wants, and *the other*, I really believe, so much wishes."[1]

The defeat of the Catholic Relief Bill naturally enough gave umbrage to its supporters, and there was some talk of resignations; but, as the reader will observe, this intention, if ever entertained, was not carried out.

The Duke of Buckingham was greatly dissatisfied with the Government, particularly with respect to the fate of the Catholic Relief Bill, and called a meeting of his political friends at his house in London, when the following resolutions were drawn up and agreed to expressive of their opinions on that measure:—

My Lord,

At a Meeting of Protestant Peers possessing property in Ireland, held on the 27th ult., at the Duke of Buckingham's, in Pall Mall, the Duke of Buckingham in the Chair, the Resolutions, herewith transmitted, were proposed by the Marquis of Londonderry, and unanimously adopted. Previous to the publication of this document by us, we are desirous of submitting it to your lordship for your approbation and signature. We request your answer by

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 137.

return of post, addressed to Earl Fitzwilliam, Grosvenor Square.

Your Lordship's most humble servants,

DOWNSHIRE.
VANE LONDONDERRY.
WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.
DONOUGHMORE.

RESOLVED,—

1. That while we acknowledge with gratitude the measures adopted by Parliament for the general improvement and prosperity of Ireland, we cannot but feel that full effect can never be given to the benevolent intentions of the Legislature while our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects labour under civil disqualification; that every accession of wealth and knowledge must, by increasing the capacity of exercising the highest civil rights, increase equally the desire of obtaining them, and thus aggravate the discontent of those who are aggrieved.

2. That the civil equality of all classes of the people would not endanger the Constitution, which is best secured by giving to all an equal interest in its support; nor the Protestant Faith, which is secured by its own clear truths, and by the pious zeal of our clergy; nor Property in Tithes, which, like all other property, is secured by law.

3. That without such civil equality there is no hope of permanent tranquillity in Ireland, or of that perfect national union which is alone wanting to complete the greatness of the empire, and for ever to preserve it from hostile aggression.

4. That it is expedient to do an act of justice in a time of prosperity; to confer rights while they will be received with gratitude; to confer with advantage what cannot be

refused with safety; and to adopt in peace a measure which may be forced upon us in war; and which the uncontrollable course of time must evidently force upon us soon.

5. That we, the undersigned Protestant Peers possessing property in Ireland, most earnestly recommend to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, firmness, temperance, and union: that we desire them to rely upon us as the determined friends of their just cause, and upon the good sense of their Protestant fellow-subjects for the ultimate recovery of their civil rights.

LEINSTER.	ASHTOWN.
DEVONSHIRE.	RIVERSDALE.
BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.	DUNDAS.
LANSDOWNE.	DUNALLY.
DOWNSHIRE,	WESTMEATH.
VANE LONDONDERRY.	ORMOND AND OSSORY.
WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.	ESSEX.
KINGSTON.	DERBY.
DARNLEY.	NUGENT.
FORTESCUE.	BESSBOROUGH.
CLARE.	LIMERICK.
CHARLEMONT.	HUTCHINSON.
DONOUGHMORE.	LISMORE,
NORTHLAND.	GLENGALL.
CLIFDEN.	MEATH.
CLONBROCK.	LLANDAFF.
GOSFORD.	ALBEMARLE.
CALEDON.	SHERBORNE.
LEITRIM.	DE VESCI.
CARYSFORT.	HARTLAND.
WATERPARK.	DILLON.

Mr. Canning found the embarrassments of his position pressing heavily upon him. A pretty

accurate idea of them may be gathered from the following communications:—

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, June 11, 1825.

MY DEAR B.,

I showed Canning the Resolutions immediately after you left town, and he highly approved of them, with the exception of one word—the recommendation of "*firmness*"—as that was a point to which the Catholics are already sufficiently disposed.

I fear it will be quite impossible to induce him to "*act in concert*" on this subject, as he fancies that his great advantage is to reserve himself unpledged and unfettered. He illustrates this by what passed on the last occasion, that for twenty-four hours he had made up his mind to resignation, and that if he had taken that resolution, in concert with Robinson, Harrowby, and myself, he could not afterwards without our agreement have altered his course. The reason is a bad one, but still it is too much in accordance with his general isolated and single course, which for some years he has always preferred steering, for me to hope to change it.

He told me that he had on the same grounds avoided any such communication with either of those I have named. Huskisson he did not allude to, considering him, I suppose, as his satellite, and therefore incapable of embarrassing him. In the present situation of things, it is not a little satisfactory to find a Bill introduced, without the most distant application or suggestion on my part, for placing the Presidents of the Boards of Control and of Trade in the first class of officers, to the holders of which, after two years' service, the King is enabled to grant a pension of

3000*l.* per annum; and the Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Secretary of the Board of Control in the inferior classes.

This has been brought in not for love of me or Charles Grant, but because Huskisson and Courtenay have been long representing the extreme hardships of their situations, and because it was impossible to provide for them without including us.

If, therefore, the Administration were to change a month hence, I should have a claim, together with Canning and Huskisson, for one of these pensions, of which the King has now three to dispose of. They are confined to the offices of First Lords of the Treasury and Admiralty, and Secretaries of State or Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Now, of those who hold those offices, I should say that Liverpool, Bathurst, and Melville are excluded from these pensions by the large sinecures which they hold at present, and that Peel and Robinson are too rich already to become competitors. The only one yet granted is that to Lord Sidmouth: so I really think my chance would be a pretty good one.

I do not give the Court of Ava credit for any of that deep policy which you apprehend, particularly a plan of drawing us forward into their territory. Besides, we shall advance up the banks of the river, with a flotilla attending, and carrying provisions, &c., which would always secure the means of retreat; but I am, on the whole, sanguine in my hopes of their suing for peace.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 19, 1825.

You will have heard, I suppose, how Charles alarmed me about your holding my proxy, which led to the singular effect of my sending a servant to town expressly for the purpose of taking my proxy out of the very hands which of all others I most wished to hold it.

Your Lordships, I am sorry to say, are more foolish than I expected; though, certainly, some things had passed which prepared me to expect no very great degree of wisdom from you.

I do not wonder that Charles is embarrassed by Lord L.'s language; but often, as I think, it would be difficult for him to say what has happened now, to induce any new conduct on his part. He knew, when he came in, that the majority of the House of Lords was against the measure, and that L. was so likewise. Did he expect to convert him?

I firmly believe that if Canning, and Robinson, and Charles would, before the opening of this Session, have made the removal of the disqualifications the condition of their supporting, the Association, with Lord L. and the bigots, must have given way. But that Charles's going out now *singly*, and for no better assignative reason than that L. has spoken more stoutly than usual, would in the smallest degree assist the carrying of the question, I utterly disbelieve. Plunket's going out now would give the bigots a facility for which they never could be sufficiently grateful, by enabling them to replace Lord Manners by a congenial successor.

If that point were now, or hereafter, in question, I should not hesitate an instant to say that Charles is bound to obtain the seals for P. or to resign with him.

Ever most affectionately, G.

P.S. My opinion remains unshaken that we are in view of the port, though I do not undertake to foresee precisely by what course we shall arrive at it. One way or other, I am confident this folly cannot last.

Will not the Association be in some form or other renewed? And will not the bigots be obliged to propose new measures next year to enforce their system? And is it quite clear that either the liberal part of the Government, or the House of Commons, will think themselves obliged to give way to that demand? Or if differences and disunions there must be, would not that be a more reasonable ground for them than Lord L.'s hopes?

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Thursday.

MY DEAR B——,

I have had a long conversation this morning with Canning, and the result of it decides me to support him in delaying the dissolution. Under the present circumstances I am convinced that effect is everything; and that whatever might be abstractedly considered as the best course for the Government, it is of the greatest importance that the wishes very generally expressed by the friends of the Catholic question should be complied with, and above all, that it shall be shown that the Chancellor has not the power to carry into execution the threat which he threw out in his last speech.

I find that it is in public considered as a struggle between the Catholic and Protestant part of the Administration.

We ought also to take into consideration the contingencies which may occur in our favour. Such as not the resignation, but the death of the Chancellor, and others which might very materially affect the choice of a new Parliament.

I see Canning is prepared to use every means to prevent the agitation of the Catholic question, if he succeeds in delaying the dissolution, and even himself to move the previous question if all others fail. I told him that I did not see the possibility of my concurring in this course. He then *mooted* the suggestion of his accompanying this with a notice of his bringing forward the question himself in a new Parliament, and resting his continuance in office upon its success, which, he said, he had as yet mentioned to no other individual but myself. This would certainly materially alter the question; but even in this event I should not pledge myself to support it. I am now going to the Cabinet, and believe that the decision will be in favour of delay, at least so far as I can judge.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Monday Morning, May 23.

I find the King expressed his approbation of Lord Liverpool's speech in *a letter* which he wrote to him the same day. The only exception his Majesty took was to Lord Liverpool's construction of the Coronation Oath, which the King considered in a very different point of view, and as binding him against the admission of Catholics to power in the Government. I am quite sure from this, and from the language he now holds, that he is prepared to appeal to the country, believing that there is a very general and popular feeling against further concession; and I cannot but conclude that this resolution was formed and understood by Lord Eldon and Lord Liverpool before the debate took place in the Lords.

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, May 31, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You will have seen by last night the debate on the D—— of Cumberland and the violent disgust which prevails against the grant. I should not wonder if it is ultimately thrown out; it is as much as the Government can do to get their own people to attend.

I have heard of nothing *in* the House and *out* of it but the language which Lord N—— is holding with regard to you. He states himself *as authorized* to tell all the Opposition, and every being interested in the Catholic question, that you are no party to any compromise that may have been made in the Cabinet, and that you entirely condemn the proceedings that have taken place on the part of Government. I mention this in order that you may guard your brother against such a declaration on your part, because you must see how deeply it will affect Wynn's situation.

Whatever has passed in the Cabinet can only be judged of by the declaration of the Ministers in Parliament, and this declaration has *so far* been approved by Opposition. It is setting up a standard against the Government, and in the event of changes which may be looked for (supposing this question to come in again next Session), would destroy the very object you have in view. You really can have no idea how much sensation this language of your brother's has made, coupled, as it necessarily is, with the meeting at your house. I am attacked by every friend and member of the Government, and I have no doubt that Wynn must be the same. I know that Phillimore is, for he came to me yesterday in the greatest dismay about it.

Your Resolutions are admirably drawn up, I should think above the composition of Lord Londonderry; I have no doubt they will have great effect.

Yours most faithfully, W. H. F.

The Burmese war began to divide public attention with the Catholic question, and the victorious career of Sir Archibald Campbell for a time superseded the more noisy one of O'Connell. It is clear, however, that the Government had excited much dissatisfaction, and the Duke of Buckingham gave them a significant warning; but Mr. Williams Wynn misunderstood the nature of a communication to which he alludes.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, June 9, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

I really have no intelligence of any kind to send you but out of my own department. Our accounts are more promising than I have yet seen; as not only is Campbell about to move forward, having, as far as he can learn, no enemy whatever to oppose him—the Burmese army not having been able to reassemble since its last defeat and dispersion—but letters have been sent in to him in a very altered tone, which seem to speak an earnest desire for peace.

I have just been at Court and found his Majesty looking better than usual, and very gracious.

I shall ask an audience to-morrow or Saturday, to tell him how things are going on in India, and may then be able to judge better.

Canning is far from well, though he says he is better; but he really seems quite worn down.

I have heard more of your message by N—— to Mackintosh and the other members of Opposition, than of the meeting at your house. I certainly regret that step, and wish that you had mentioned to me your intention of taking it.

To express your own sentiments is one thing, to authorize and commission another person to declare them to the Opposition is another.

There are sundry excellent stories in circulation respecting his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to Paris,[1] but really his own despatches are as good as any.

Ever affectionately yours, C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, June 17, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You will see by the state of the House of Commons that we are nearly closing our business, and I have no doubt we shall adjourn about the 26th. At present everything bears a promising appearance, and as if harmony was completely restored in the Cabinet, and as far as outward appearance goes I have no doubt it is; but the general belief prevails that the present state of things cannot last, and that Parliament will not meet again without some conclusion being come to with regard to the Catholic question, and how this is to be effected is not easily to be made out. I never can believe that Canning, and those who support the Catholic question, will allow any proceeding to be brought on in the last Session of an expiring Parliament, which will, of necessity, raise a clamour in the public mind, and establish a No Popery Parliament. It is quite clear that this must be the result of a repetition of the scene we have wit-

[1] The Duke of Northumberland.

nessed this Session. I am quite satisfied that the King, Duke of York, and the High Church party are prepared and determined to try the experiment of an Anti-Catholic Government. The public language of Canning, and his announcement of its being now a Cabinet question (or that he was at liberty to discuss it in Cabinet), satisfies me that he will make it so before the next Session. The question must then be whether any compromise can be effected, by limiting the extension of the emancipation, and thereby getting through another Session and avoiding the Popery cry. This, I think, most likely, will be the case; but if not, it cannot for a moment be doubted that he will move heaven and earth to prevent another Session; and having the public voice so completely with him on every other point of his public character, he will be enabled, if he thinks it advisable, to fight the battle with success. On all these considerations I own it is my opinion that this Parliament will not meet again, but that we shall be dissolved.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, June 20, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

After the receipt of your letters respecting the conversation between yourself and N——, I felt it necessary to take an early opportunity of communicating with him, in order that he might know how much he had overrated the amount of what you had told him, and might correct any future statements he might make on the subject.

Our parliamentary business approaches rapidly to a conclusion, and at the end of this week nothing will, I believe, remain except the Combination Act, which may, probably, last till Wednesday or Thursday.

I agree very much in your opinion on C——'s declaration against concert, but I think it proceeds from a wilful blindness on the subject. He fancies much of hostility against him to arise from the Catholic question, whereas it is, in truth, hostility to the Catholic question arising from dislike to him. It is felt that he cannot be attacked on South America, because the country is with him, and therefore the other is mounted as a more serviceable *cheval de bataille.* His decided opinion is, as he declares, that the resignation of the Catholics would induce the King to throw himself on the Protestant part of the Cabinet, who would answer the call; and then he asks, whether any man who saw how *sufficiently* Percival, with the assistance of D. Ryder and Lord Melville, carried on the business of the House of Commons, will doubt whether Peel dissolving Parliament, and raising the cry of No Popery, might not do the same thing.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, June 29, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I do assure you Wynn was most sincere and earnest in his wish to relieve Sir Edward E—— from the singularly hard situation in which he is placed. The Bill was a scene of contention from its commencement till its final passing with the Court of Directors, and more than once have I witnessed the resistance which the Chairs (particularly Astell and Wygram) maintained against the proposition of Wynn to remedy the state in which Sir Edward E—— would be left. The limitation for the full pension is ten years, and which is divided into a third and a half. Sir Edward East, although he had served the full period to entitle him to 2000*l.* per annum on the former arrange-

ment, had not completed that time to entitle him to profit by the present Bill; and the next division of time only affording a pension of 1500*l.* per annum, he would be a loser by accepting it, as it would remove him from his present right, by which he succeeds on the death of either of the three old men now enjoying their full pension of 2000*l.* per annum. Wynn was extremely anxious that the Court should place him at once in the enjoyment of the full pension granted by the new Bill; and I cannot agree with you in thinking that his application was "cold or weak;" he showed me the letter before he sent it, and I thought it was the only course he could pursue with any hopes of success. If you ask why Wynn did not specifically introduce a clause in the Bill to meet the case, I would answer by assuring you that such a special clause would, in the first instance, have been resisted by the Court, and afterwards in the House by Astell (who was appointed to prepare the Bill) and by other Indian interests, and probably a petition presented against it. Sir Edward E—— was led to believe, from the language of individuals belonging to the Court, that they would support his claim; but I told him he must not depend on such assurance, for I too well knew the difference between their language *in and out* of Court, and the result has proved my prediction to him.

W. H. FREMANTLE.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hyde House, July 6, 1825.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

There is no official account from Mexico, nor any letter from my son; but authentic advices state that the ratification of the treaty was at first suppressed, because there

was no *express* article of recognition, and we insisted upon being on the same terms as the most favoured nation. This they said, and not unreasonably, might be one who had made an offensive and defensive alliance with them. Both sides being given, the plenipos went so far as to demand their passports, upon which the Mexican Government gave in; so the treaty is ratified.

R. WARD.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

July 6, 1825.

MY DEAR B.,

I do not know what reports of bad news from South America you allude to, but I believe them to be wholly unfounded. The language of the new Cabinet of the United States is very satisfactory respecting Cuba.

France has offered to recognise the independence of St. Domingo, on receiving the 150,000,000 of francs offered last year, and a preference for her commodities of 50 per cent. over all other nations. This latter condition is not likely to be acceded to.

I find that the Anti-Grosvenor party at Chester have offered their support to General Egerton, a brother of the late Sir John, which he has declined, inasmuch as the one vote which he should be most anxious to give would be in favour of the Catholic claims.

We are to be prorogued by Commission to-day; as, though the King can hold courts and councils, give balls, and walk about, he stands in dread of the exertion of his knee consequent on mounting and descending Mr. Nash's *scala regia*.

All seems quiet and *couleur de rose* on the Continent.

I am most impatient for news from India. It is true that nothing can be more dilatory or inefficient than Lord Amherst's Government, yet I know not how he could be

superseded, but by some more distinguished person than we could persuade to go as his successor. If I found myself compelled to take a step of this nature, I should appoint Munro, the present Governor of Madras, who possesses great ability and energy; though such an appointment of a Madras man would drive all the Bengalees mad, and give rise to complaints even more violent than those against Lord Amherst. This, at best, could only be a temporary measure. I have sometimes thought of William Lamb, who would probably not be sorry to accept any situation which placed him on the other side of the ocean from Lady Caroline. He has very considerable talents, and my only doubt is whether he might not better be employed in high office at home.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, July 20, 1825.

MY DEAR B.,

The Cabinet is at length fixed by Canning for the 28th, so I shall remain here till Monday, and then come over to you for two days; and I think Robinson and I, by starting early on Thursday morning, may reach town easily by two o'clock. The King looked well yesterday, though glittering with incessant perspiration.

I have not yet seen Lord Grenville, but understand that he has rather suffered from the heat. I think it doubtful whether you will not have an excuse from Lady Sarah Robinson, as he told me that she was very unwell yesterday morning.

Canning brought his illness on himself rather oddly. One has often heard of those who have eat or drunk too

much doctoring themselves with rhubarb, salts, or such like, but I certainly never heard of any one on such an occasion taking laudanum without advice. The natural consequence was, locking himself up, and an inflammation not easily subdued.

Certainly, independent of political malady, which may threaten our Cabinet generally, the majority of it are in no small hazard of *individual* dissolution. The D—— of W—— looks extremely ill, and has had a severe attack, and I think it improbable that five years shall elapse and find him, Canning, Liverpool, Harrowby, the Chancellor, or perhaps Bathurst or Westmoreland, forthcoming and fit for duty. Notwithstanding the mismanagement of Campbell, and the difficulties to be encountered by the other armies in their advance, I now feel strong hope of the immediate conclusion of the Burmah war. The evacuation of Assam, the insurrection of Pegu, and the invasion from Siam, will, I have little doubt, bring them forthwith on their knees for peace; and I am principally afraid lest they should pare them down too low, and not leave them strong enough to defend themselves against the Siamese, who would be every bit as troublesome neighbours.

Believe me ever

Most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, Sept. 3, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

At the present period, when Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington are abroad, Canning at the Lakes, Peel near Broadstairs, Robinson in Devonshire, and no individual of the Cabinet within reach of the metropolis, except

the tried wisdom of Lord Bexley (which, I doubt not, will be sufficient to meet all emergencies), it is not to be wondered at if I can find no more interesting manner of convincing you of my good state and condition than by the transmission of grouse, whereto Watkin has been a much more liberal contributor, and is consequently entitled to the larger portion of thanks.

Of Indian news I can send you no more than of European, as I believe that the month of August has elapsed without a single arrival either of Company's or private ships. I am not quite sure, indeed, whether there did not come one ship, in the first week, which brought the account of the *Albion* (the vessel in which John Adams had taken his passage for Liverpool) having met with an accident, which would delay her sailing till April.

I have for some time been in expectation of him, as both his father and I wrote to him to press him to take this place in his way from Liverpool to London. I have heard nothing very lately on the subject of Lord Amherst; but the present Chairman originally opposed his nomination, which was carried but by a small majority, and has repeatedly, since he has been in office, shown his hostility to him—sometimes, I have thought, unfairly and unreasonably—as by blaming him for not having increased the establishment of the army in despite of positive orders from both Court and Board; and which could have answered no beneficial object but that of increasing our patronage and the expense of the army. With the same object, I see him try to throw the blame of the mutiny on Lord Amherst, who really could have no more to do with it than you. These are, in my opinion, quite unfounded accusations; but I cannot conceal from myself that Lord Amherst is quite a cypher in the conduct of the war, and has given it

wholly up to Sir Edward Paget. The plan of carrying it on by four separate divisions at once appears to me singularly ill judged, when it is to be executed in a country of which they profess themselves to be wholly ignorant. At all times the great difficulty of Indian warfare has been the commissariat, and particularly the means of conveyance for the baggage and camp-followers. Now a force of ten thousand men can get on much better with bullocks for five, than if that supply is to be frittered down in four subdivisions. Sir Edward Paget and his staff write home to the Horse Guards splendid panegyrics on Sir Archibald, nearly equal to his own pompous despatches; but I hear from every quarter of the dissatisfaction of his army with his conduct, and particularly the encouragement of pillage and destruction of the pagodas.

The most extraordinary circumstance in Lord A.'s conduct, and which may raise the greatest clamour against him, is the non-transmission of the Report of the Court of Inquiry on the Mutiny, which was made in the first days of January, and which is not even yet arrived, though we have despatches to the 6th March.

I was glad to hear the other day, from a person lately returned from the Isle of Man, that the bishop holds good opinions on the Catholic question.

I fear, however, that if he once mounts the English bench he will discover new lights, like his neighbour of Chester.

The latter met with rather a fair cut at his Visitation dinner from one of his clergy, who, I suppose, has got as much preferment as he looks for at present. The bishop called out to a Mr. *Curry*, asking him, "whether he would not eat some of himself;" to which wretched joke one of his neighbours replied, "Well, my lord, better eat his own name than his own words."

I do not think there is the slightest foundation for the report you mention of a change in the Secretaryship of the Board of Control. Courtenay would like much to go to the Treasury or Admiralty; but neither of them is likely to be offered to him.

Ever affectionately yours, C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, Sept. 7, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

I was sorry last night to see in the *Telescope*, a Sunday paper set on foot for the purpose of puffing Lord Hastings, a paragraph mentioning a report of your going to India in the room of Lord Amherst. I have not heard anything lately of the movements of the Court of Directors, but I believe the Chairman, ever since Lord Amherst's nomination, which he opposed to the utmost, to have been indefatigable in hostility to him, both fair and foul. He would himself prefer Lord Dalhousie, as his successor, to any other person, as being his own friend and countryman. He tried hard to get him for Commander-in-Chief; but I think he is aware of our determination not to appoint a military Governor-General, and that it would be impossible even to put in nomination an officer now employed elsewhere on the public service. He therefore has more than once expressed his wish to me (as did the last Chairman), that Sir Thomas Munro should be directed to proceed from Madras and take charge of the Supreme Government. This, I think I before informed you, was the proposal which Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, Canning, and I, were all disposed to adopt in the spring, if we should find it neces-

sary to remove Lord Amherst. We all thought Munro the ablest man we had in India, and the likeliest to bring the war to an early and satisfactory close, after which his own inclination would lead him to return to England immediately, as he is old and wishes for home. His nomination would, however, be very unpopular with a large party of Indians, who are jealous of him as a Madras man, and would besides be apprehensive of his introducing the Ryotwar Settlement and Administration of Justice by Collectors.

I should certainly have strongly recommended this as the most expedient course, both as effecting the most immediate change, and as replacing Lord A. by a successor already fully master of the state of affairs, and ready to act without the delay which a new person must require to obtain information; besides which, the appointment would so obviously have been a temporary one, that it would in itself have afforded considerable facilities to prepare the way for a subsequent nomination from England.

There certainly is a difficulty in raising money in India, which, however, is much exaggerated by those who are endeavouring to keep it back in the hope of raising the market. No measure ever excited more clamour than Lord Amherst endeavouring to raise money at four per cent., in which, however, he had succeeded to the amount of nearly eighty lacs. I do not, however, believe in any advances from the Bank to the Company.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Norton, Sept. 18, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

I do not think I exactly agree with your opinion as to the best course to be adopted to bring our most unfortunate Indian war to a conclusion; but this is a matter *of so little importance* as to be scarcely worth arguing, since it can hardly lead to any practical result. Your views are founded on the state of affairs in March last; any directions now sent out could not be carried into effect before the end of April next; indeed, we may say, on account of the rains, hardly till October, 1826.

Before that time a peace of some kind *must* have been concluded; at least, I cannot anticipate the probability of any events which can so long continue the contest.

The Burmese force is at present divided between Danobew and Proome. Assuming with you that the end of the last campaign left Campbell in possession of the latter place after defeating the enemy's army, whether Morrison may or may not have formed a junction with him from Arracan—which, from the obstacles which always present themselves in crossing mountains, I allow to be very doubtful—I cannot see any ground for the apprehensions which you entertain. The capture of Arracan will have placed the flotilla employed there under Commodore Hayes at liberty (or, at least, the greater part of it) to round Cape Negrais and proceed up the Irrawaddy. Nor can a Burmese force at Danobew, on the western bank of the river, below where the communication branches off for Rangoon, be, I apprehend, an object of uneasiness, even if it should not have been dispersed. That Cotton should have failed in his attack, though extremely to be regretted, is not, when the weakness of his column is considered, at all to be wondered

at. In the meantime, there is reason to believe that the Siamese will have attacked the south-eastern frontier of the enemy in considerable force. Under these circumstances, I certainly think it probable that, before or soon after the conclusion of the campaign, there will have been an offer of negotiation, which the Indian Government profess the greatest readiness to entertain.

If, however, unfortunately, this should not be the case, the present campaign will open, I imagine, according to a plan of the D—— of W——'s, which I transmitted to Lord A—— at the beginning of the year, by the advance of Morrison from Arracan, with a force considerably augmented, till he joins Campbell on the Irrawaddy. Could I be certain that the latter were to be superseded in the command by Nicolls, which I hope may be the case, I should feel confident of a successful result.

The present war is indeed more completely without an object than any other, as the terms of peace are immaterial, provided that it shall be concluded in such a manner as shall not convey to the Burmese themselves, and still more to the other powers in India, an impression of a *failure* on our part. The retention even of Cheduba can be of little consequence.

The Indian Government will, I suppose, as usual, try to get some money towards the expense of the war, and as a mulct on the Court of Ava it may be useful; but they cannot be absurd enough to continue hostilities for such an object.

I cannot participate in your vision of a Moscow campaign. In the first place, the carrying on of such a system of defence requires an extent of plan, and a resolution, of which we have seen no symptoms in any Eastern potentate, and least of all the King of Ava; in the next, you will

observe that the Burmese mode of warfare has in no instance been that of applying their force to harass us and hang on our flanks, but only to interpose in large numbers and bring matters to a general engagement, in which the superiority of discipline and arms is most likely to tell on our side; in the third place, it is to be recollected that all our operations are to be carried on on the banks of a river navigable for a flotilla all the way to the capital, and that our communications may thus be kept open.

I feel far more apprehension on the subject to which you allude in the conclusion of your letter—the probability of insurrection and disturbance in our own dominions. Of this as yet I see no symptoms, as what has occurred at Rungpore is really nothing more than what is common—the struggle between two competitors for the regency, on the death of a Rajah who has left a minor heir, in which Ochterlony has very imprudently interfered, and the Government have issued orders to him to retrace his steps, and leave them to settle the matter between themselves. Still, there can be no doubt but there must be a spirit which the intelligence of any reverse to our arms would be likely to bring into action; and perhaps there may be as much cause to fear this effect from the conclusion of any peace with Ava of which we should not dictate the terms, as from a continuance of hostilities.

I regret extremely the loss of Adam, from whom I expected more valuable information than it is possible I should receive from any individual now in England. On all these subjects, however, I shall be able to judge better after my arrival in town. I shall set out to-morrow, and expect to sleep at Whitehall on Tuesday. I have no doubt that the General Quarterly Court on the 28th will be a stormy one, and that a severe attack will be made on Lord

Amherst. Nothing, indeed, can be more barren and *jejune* than his despatches.

I have no intelligence lately, but I still expect that an effort will be made to procure Munro's nomination as a military man, though not interfering in military details, to conclude the war and then return home.

Everything seems to show that, though not formally sanctioned by the Cabinet, a resolution has been taken in favour of dissolution, and that it will be supported by the petitions of the friends of Government, who dread a canvas for the next eight months.

Ever yours, C. W. W.

The worst part of our ill-executed campaign has been the Cachar attack, which from the beginning I have been convinced could only end in failure, from the nature of the country which we have attempted to penetrate. Richards's, in Assam, seems to have been well conducted, and he has had the discretion to stop when his object was effected.

Of Sir Archibald you already know my opinion. Still, looking at him at present in possession of Proome, with the whole of the delta behind him, comprising the most fertile part of the country, and the flotilla to supply him, his position appears a very strong one. You will tell me that the Burmese may burn and destroy the country as they retire; but this seems hardly probable when, according to Sheridan's phrase, "We are only fighting to come to an understanding."

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Castle Howard, Sept. 27, 1825.

I have just received your kind letter, my dear Duke, but not till a line from Canning to Lord C——, which arrived

on Sunday, had announced the determination of the Cabinet against dissolution this year; so that your expectations on that subject are as much disappointed as those of my brother and of myself, and I may add of everybody without exception with whom I have conversed about it. I had heard, it is true, that some remonstrances had been made against present dissolution by some of the leading landed interests, and the Duke of Rutland was specially named amongst them; but I can hardly suppose this motive sufficient to stand by itself against all the prudential motives which so powerfully recommended the measure; and therefore I take for granted there is some "*dessous des cartes*" with which the uninitiated are not acquainted, and of which I am very well content to remain ignorant, though with a strong conviction that the decision is at all events rash and imprudent, and exposes the Government to the danger of being obliged to dissolve in the next year at any risk, however unfavourable a change of circumstances may then have taken place. I take for granted, however, that they will meet early, in order to get over as soon as possible those necessary articles of business which must precede their spring dissolution.

I do not wonder at your disinclination to take any part in the politics of Aylesbury; but although you may personally adhere to that line of conduct, it is perhaps the only line in which you cannot much expect that the lower or even the higher orders of your friends will follow you; they must do something, and will never content themselves with doing nothing.

I know very little of the changes likely to be produced in a new Parliament; but I was sorry to hear of Grenfell and Tremaine being both likely to withdraw from their present seats, because I think them both, particularly the

first, in the highest class of honourable, independent, and effective members of Parliament, and therefore heartily hope they may find it practicable to remain.

I am too far north to look just now to any western visits, though I had promised one to Bowood; after a week more here, and three or four days at Escrick, I shall be looking towards Dropmore, and then consider my wanderings of this year as finished. I am glad to hear to-day from Catherine Neville that she takes the house and garden at Billingbear, and lives there, a measure which I had strongly advised.

Ever most affectionately yours,

T. G.

The aspect of affairs in India still excited much solicitude at home. In some features a striking resemblance may be traced to recent proceedings in the same part of the world.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 3, 1825.

MY DEAR B——,

The effect of all the late intelligence from India has been to decide the opinions of Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, and Mr. Canning, that there is no ground for the removal of Lord Amherst, and that it would be unjust in the Government in any degree to lend itself to such a measure.

I have strong reason to believe that a similar feeling has for some time been acquiring strength in the Court of Directors, and that no steps will be taken towards his recall

or even to force his resignation, and this feeling will be increased by the pardon which has been granted to the mutineers.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

THE RIGHT HON. W. C. PLUNKET TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dublin, Nov. 16, 1825.

MY LORD,

I understand that Lord Westmeath intends to wait on your Grace at Stowe, and I take for granted he will be governed by your advice as to his conduct relative to the vacant representation in the Irish peerage. I believe he can, either by transfer of his interest to Lord Mountcashel, or of releasing from their engagements peers who will in that case vote for Lord M——, secure *his* election. If Lord Mountcashel could be thrown out, without incurring the mischief of Lord Farnham's election, I should rejoice at it; the manner in which he has acted on the Roman Catholic subject, and his perseverance in refusing to give any satisfactory explanation of his intentions, fully entitle him to rejection. But the alternative of Lord Farnham's succeeding is so offensive, and would be so prejudicial to the cause of liberality in this country, that one is reconciled to the return of any person to his exclusion. Lord F——'s return will be considered, and still more represented, as a decisive proof that the high Orange party in this country is too strong for the Government, and that they must be adopted in order to preserve the patronage and authority of the Crown. I have no scruple on these grounds in earnestly requesting your Grace to use your influence with Lord Westmeath to avert this disastrous consequence, which, I believe, he can effectually do.

The Lord-Lieutenant of course cannot stipulate for support to Lord Westmeath on a future occasion; but I think I may safely say that, in my opinion, his lordship will have an opportunity of laying the foundation of a claim to future support from the Irish Government, by forwarding their wishes on the present occasion. I feel most anxious on this subject, not merely from my distaste for the principles and conduct of this man, but from a strong apprehension of the public ill-consequences of his election.

I have the honour to be,

With sincere respect and regard,

Your Grace's faithful and obedient servant,

W. C. PLUNKET.

Ireland was becoming more quiet. The following references to the representative of this portion of the empire will be found interesting.

THE RIGHT HON. W. C. PLUNKET TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dublin, Nov. 25, 1825.

MY LORD,

I have deferred sending any answer to the letter of the 20th, which I had the honour of receiving from your Grace, that I might have the opportunity of communicating with Lord Wellesley on the subject of it, and which I have not had until this morning. It will be impossible to give a pledge of support to Lord Westmeath on a future occasion. I would submit to your Grace's consideration whether such a pledge would not be liable to much observation in a constitutional view, particularly if given in consideration of support on the present vacancy. I own I should not have courage to advise Lord Wellesley to do so, even if the

question were perfectly open; but after Lord Liverpool's expressed opinion on the subject, I do not think it is a point which the Lord-Lieutenant could press on the English Government, even if his own opinion were for it. But I think it is quite correct in him to say that, whilst he refuses and guards himself against any pledge, he at the same time would consider Lord Westmeath's support as a serious obligation. This he authorizes me to say; more, I feel it is quite out of his power to say. I hope your Grace will not consider me as presumptuous in offering my opinion, that with this Lord Westmeath ought to be satisfied. I cannot too strongly express my apprehension of the consequences of Lord Farnham's success in the present instance; it will put down the authority of Lord Wellesley's Government; but, which is much worse, it will, I fear, tend to the conclusion that the plan of a Liberal Government in Ireland must be abandoned. I mean to write to Lord Westmeath to-morrow.

I am,
With the truest respect and regard,
Your Grace's faithful servant,
W. C. PLUNKET.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 14, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The King's Ministers have signified their opinion that no necessity for the recall of Lord Amherst exists. This will place the Court of D—— in a dilemma; but I have no idea they will take upon themselves the responsibility of

removing him. They must, however, determine in this forthwith, as the case cannot stand as it is. My opinion is that Lord Amherst will now terminate the war, and I cannot for one moment believe there is any competition with you as his successor.

I dined a few days ago at the R—— Lodge; not one word said on the subject of India, or even allusion to it. I was in hopes of meeting the D—— of Wellington, but he was not there. I cannot go the length he does in supporting the conduct of the military branch of the India Government in the Barruckpoor business.

Ever, my dear Duke,
Most faithfully yours,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 10, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You ask my opinion as to what "the Government would do were the Court to come to some strong expression of its opinion respecting Lord A., *just short* of recalling him, and communicating it to the Government?"

I have reason to believe they have come to just such an opinion, and that the Government have, as a government, distinctly stated their difference of opinion, and determined not to recall Lord A——, and not be a party to any measure for such an object. The Court have the legal right to remove Lord A——; but in adopting such a measure, the responsibility must rest on them. The Court, I have reason to believe, still persist in their resolution of removing him by the appointment of another Governor-General; and I have also reason to believe that it has *unanimously*

resolved that the most judicious appointment as Lord A——'s successor would be Sir Thomas Munro. I state this as a proof to you of the dependence which is to be placed on the assurances of this body of legislators.

I have marked this letter above, and am confident you will not allow the information I give you to be known.

Whenever I can give you more intelligence, you shall have it.

Ever, my dear Duke,
Truly yours,
W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Dec. 17, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have said everything in my power to promote your object, and I am quite satisfied that, as far as personal feeling and wishes go, Wynn would do the utmost, and, as I understand, has done the utmost in favour of your nomination to succeed Lord A. in case of his recall. Nothing can be more warm and zealous than his feelings towards you, but he will not give the pledge you demand of him, and I have no right to urge him on a point on which he alone can judge as to how far such a pledge might avail, or how far it is consistent with his station. He was most desirous of setting off at once to Avington, but every hour I find is important in the attendance of the Ministers in town. The state of alarm is much beyond what you can possibly imagine; I had no conception of it till I arrived here, and, be assured, that until this subsides, no discussion with individuals or in Cabinet will take place on any subject whatever but the state of the moneyed market.

I find the Court of Directors have taken no steps since

I wrote to you; probably they will defer for ten days or a fortnight their further proceedings on the subject of Lord Amherst. In the meantime there are favourable accounts of the state of the army at Proome and of appearances at Calcutta.

Ever yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 28, 1825.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I am this moment returned from Gorhambury, where I have been for two days, and where I met Robinson. The name of Lord Wellesley occurred more than once in conversation with him, but he never threw out one word which would lead me to suspect that he was aware of the account which had reached you—namely, of the notification from Lord Wellesley to the Cabinet. I will endeavour, as far as I possibly can, to ascertain its truth, and will inform you, as also if I hear of the slightest proceeding on the subject.

If it should be true, I think they must offer you Ireland, and most delighted should I be to hear of such an arrangement.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

CHAPTER IX.

[1826.]

COMMERCIAL PANIC — LORD FOLKESTONE'S ATTACK ON MINISTERS — IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS — INCREASING INDISPOSITION OF THE KING — INDIAN AFFAIRS — THE KING'S KINDNESS TO O'KEEFE — MR. FREMANTLE APPOINTED TREASURER TO HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD — COMMOTION IN RUSSIA — OPINIONS OF LORD CASSILIS — ALARMING ILLNESS OF THE DUKE OF YORK — THE KING OF PORTUGAL APPLIES TO THE KING OF ENGLAND FOR ASSISTANCE — CANNING AND THE DUC DE DUMAS—DEATH OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

CHAPTER IX.

PROMINENT among the evils which affected society at this period, was a panic in the commercial world, similar in character to that from which it recently recovered. Indeed, it was so serious in its effects, that at the opening of Parliament by commission, on the 3rd of February, the King's Speech commenced with an emphatic reference to it. "This embarrassment," it declared, "did not arise from any political events, either at home or abroad. It was not produced by any unexpected demand upon the public resources, nor by the apprehension of any interruption to the general tranquillity." The fact is, it was a natural reaction from over-confidence—the reflux of the tide of speculation, caused by the unbounded system of credit by which commerce was and is maintained throughout the world.

Nor was the state of our foreign relations perfectly satisfactory, although in the same document the usual assurance appeared of the friendly disposition of other Governments. It is true that a treaty had been concluded under our auspices between the

Crowns of Portugal and Brazil, by which the independence of the latter was formally acknowledged; a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation had also been concluded with the republic of Columbia; a convention arranged between Great Britain and France, and another between Great Britain and the Hanseatic cities to give effect to the principles of trade and navigation recently sanctioned by Parliament; but in more important quarters a better understanding than then prevailed, would have been far better worth quoting.

The monetary crisis soon came under the consideration of Parliament. On the 10th of the same month, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced the subject, when proposing new arrangements for amending the currency and for the security of the banking interest. He was followed by Mr. Baring, who delivered a severe philippic against Ministers for their unparalleled ignorance and senseless theorizing. Lord Folkestone delivered a very effective speech, in which he as mercilessly exposed their inconsistencies and blunders. His lordship referred to a correspondence that had been published between the Lords of the Treasury and the Governors of the Bank of England. "He did not mean to insist," he observed, "upon the necessity of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the First Lord of the Treasury, or any of the members of his Majesty's Government being acquainted with the rules of grammar, or that they should, in all their correspondence, observe the

ordinary laws of the English language; but without being too critical, he might be permitted to express his surprise at the manner in which the paper was written, when he considered the hands out of which it came. A more extraordinary document as to its language, he might say, he had never seen; but he considered the opinions which it advanced to be infinitely more singular."[1] Lord Folkestone then proceeded to analyse the paper referred to, which in truth appears to have deserved the hostile criticism it excited; and neither the solid ability of Mr. Huskisson, the financial knowledge of Mr. Peel, nor the brilliant declamation of Mr. Canning, as displayed in the course of the debate, could give it currency among the more reflective or better-informed portion of the community. The Government, however, succeeded in obtaining the consent of the House to their measures—though not without forcible protests from the Opposition.

The Session was distinguished by several important discussions, among which were the Slave Trade, the Corn Laws, the Statute Laws, and the Civil List. On the last subject, a debate ensued on the 10th of April, in which Mr. Canning made a remarkable declaration. Having been taunted with the support of placemen in Parliament, he spoke very slightingly of such an accession of strength, and declared a readiness to resign when he could not obtain a parliamentary majority

[1] Hansard. New Series. Vol. xv. p. 219.

of more than twenty. When the House divided, Ministers had only a majority of *eleven*.

What was considered the great measure of the Session, was the motion for Parliamentary Reform, brought forward on the 27th of April by Lord John Russell, which, however, was negatived after a languid debate, by a majority of 124. Affairs in India were still exciting uneasiness, particularly the Burmese war, the conduct of which had been attacked on the previous day by Messrs. Hume and Bright, and defended by Mr. Wynn. The unfavourable state of the King's health was another source of anxiety.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, April 17, 1826.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I write merely these lines to say that despatches are arrived from Proome, but in a very mutilated state; there being several intervening accounts, explanatory of events, still not arrived. The bare fact, however, of a succession of battles from the 1st to the 3rd, is stated with an ultimate decided success on our part, and of which Sir Arch. Campbell meant to avail himself by advancing immediately to Meandah. Our loss in killed and wounded is stated at 130. On the whole, by these partial accounts I should augur well, and more particularly by the tone and language of Campbell's letter; but it is impossible to give any decided opinion without being in possession of much more detail.

Nothing can be more favourable than the accounts from

Lord Combermere at Bhurtpoor, and we hope to receive immediately an account of the termination of matters in that quarter, by a surrender of the claims of the usurping Rajah.

With regard to the state of public matters in the House of Commons, you must see how much damage has been done to the Government by the indescribable folly of bringing forward Huskisson's question—there never was such folly. The attendance of Parliament is very scanty, and I don't think it likely to improve.

The King is much better; and depend upon it, the dissolution will take place early in June.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

R. PLUMER WARD, ESQ., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Spring Gardens, April 21, 1826.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

Though you know all that stirs much better than I do, I think it but right to tell you what Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt has just now told me in confidence as to everything and everybody (as far as his name is concerned), except as it may relate to parliamentary views. In short, the King's life is not worth a month's purchase—he sinks more and more, and has swellings all over his body, which increase even so as to affect the appearance of his head. There seems no doubt that there is water all over him. Sir Thomas thought Halford was not quite so open with Lord Liverpool about him as he ought to be. Sir T. begged me not to mention his name, and told me this, thinking I had parliamentary objects, which I have not. But thinking this family authority might be important in the eyes of

your Grace, I have thought it worth mentioning. Sir T. is, indeed, out of family attendance, but he has a perfect knowledge of what is going on, and told me the representation was but too correct. It is thought the King cannot come to town to the Recorder's report.

Believe me, my dear Lord Duke,

Yours always obliged,

R. WARD.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, April 28, 1826.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Thanks to you a thousand times for your hint about H——, which I shall act upon the moment I see it necessary. I learn from a channel to whom Lord Melville communicated on the subject, that nothing ever was more kind than his expression and feeling about Charles,[1] who he thought had been very cruelly and unfairly used. This gives me great consolation as to his professional prospects.

I agree with you fully in thinking that the vacillation of Lord Amherst and his Government with respect to the conduct at Bhurtpoor will not be forgotten or forgiven, even if the success of Lord Combermere is most triumphant. It is a question whether the thing would have been done at the time, and R——'s opinion was unfavourable to it; but we all know what impression is made upon Indian Governments by a prompt and vigorous display in the first instance, and I think Lord Amherst judged wrong in putting down Ochterlony's first movements.

I do assure you I know nothing of the mutiny of the regiment you speak of at Arracan for want of pay. It may refer to a statement which I saw, which related the circum-

[1] The writer's nephew, Captain Charles Fremantle, R.N.

stance of a regiment having murmured at being ordered for some duty (and I really forget what the duty was), which they thought beneath the dignity of their *caste;* another regiment of a higher *caste* was ordered to do it, the colonel of which put himself at their head, and not a murmur took place, and the order was obeyed. I believe this was stated in a private letter, for I have inquired at the office and can find nothing relating to it. When I say this with regard to the Arracan troops, you are perfectly well informed when you apprehend everything bad from that quarter. Nothing can be more lamentable than the state of that portion of the army—disease and mortality have totally ruined it; and the communication from them to the Irrawaddy found to be impracticable. The residue of that army have not altogether evacuated, but taken a position at the mouth of the river. I have no doubt they must eventually evacuate, and possibly your accounts are perfectly correct; but they are not come, you may depend upon it, either to the Court or to us. With regard to the Burmese war, I think that, notwithstanding the success of our first movements in the campaign, nothing can be more alarming than the prospect. The advance must be with a diminished force, which, even if successful, must be again diminished, and extended so far in advance of all its supplies, and, at the same time, so open to attack from its flanks and rear, that, under these circumstances, I cannot see the possibility of their advance, or of their resting in that forward station, should the Burmese still hold out and refuse peace. All this is, however, long before this settled, and, if unsuccessfully so, will bring down vengeance (ready prepared) on the heads of Lord Amherst and his Government.

The King is come to town, and I hear in great spirits, though still full of gout; Halford, whom I see daily, goes

out of his way to express his opinion as to his strength and recovery. I hear, from an authority which I cannot doubt, that the Duke of York has had another spasmodic attack at Newmarket. I believe them both to be in a state of health most precarious and dangerous, and liable at any one moment to be carried off; but of the two Halford takes pains to speak worst of the latter.

The debate went off last night with great triumph against the Reformers. There was no good speaking—Lamb's was the only good effective speech. Brougham seems paralysed; it is observed by everybody that he is an altered man.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, April 28, 1826.

MY DEAR B——,

I am by no means disposed to question the correctness of the view which you take of the jealousy and distaste produced among many of the friends of Government, particularly the older ones, and the members of the Upper House, by our *liberal* and *conciliatory* measures, and I am fully aware how many circumstances conspire to foment this feeling, which only wants an opportunity to show itself.

It is in truth only suppressed by the knowledge that those who entertain it have not in their ranks a single individual of weight or ability to stand forward in the Lower House; and that the person whose opinions on the Catholic question would naturally point him out for that purpose, is upon every other subject, whether of foreign,

commercial, or domestic policy, disposed to participate to the fullest extent in the line of policy adopted by his colleagues.

I am very much obliged for the information which you have confidentially sent me on a very interesting subject. My own opinion from what I can collect is that the King's situation is extremely precarious, but that there is not the ground for *immediate and early* alarm to which you advert. His spirits and strength have very decidedly improved. If it were thought that the probabilities were against his lasting six months, it is obvious that it would be advisable to postpone the dissolution till October; and that with a view to the possibility of this change of determination, a more dubious tone would have been adopted in speaking on the subject, instead of the very decided one which has been publicly used for the last five weeks.

I have as little faith in Halford's sincerity as you have, but I cannot imagine a reason why he should intimate apprehensions respecting the other case, which he does not really feel. If he believes the D—— likely to live to ascend the throne, every motive would induce him rather to improve than detract from the true state of his health.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. WILLIAMS WYNN.

In addition to these sources of disquiet, serious riots occurred in Yorkshire, and other manufacturing districts, arising, as was alleged, from distress created by the stagnation of trade. The military were obliged to be called out in considerable force to repress the disturbances; while a liberal

subscription—headed by 2000*l.*, in addition to upwards of 8000*l.* previously bestowed, from the King —was entered into by the titled and the wealthy, which produced 100,000*l.* for the alleviation of the prevailing distress.

We cannot forbear quoting a spontaneous act of benevolence from the King, peculiarly characteristic of his manner of doing good. When writing a letter of instruction to the Keeper of the Privy Purse, he concludes with—"A little charitable impulse induces me to desire you to inquire into the distressed circumstances of poor old O'Keefe, now ninety years of age, and stone-blind, whom I knew a little of formerly, having occasionally met him at parties of my juvenile recreation and hilarity, to which he then contributed not a little. Should you really find him so low in the world, and so divested of all comfort, as he is represented to be, then I do conceive that there can be no objection to your offering him from me such immediate relief, or such a moderate annual stipend, as will enable him to close his hitherto long life in comfort; at any rate, free from actual want and beggary—which I greatly fear at present is but too truly his actual condition and situation. Perhaps, on many accounts and reasons, which I am sure I need not mention to you, this had best be effectuated by an immediate application through you to our kind little friend, G. Colman, whose good heart will, I am certain,

lead him to give us all the assistance he can, especially as it is for the preservation of one of his oldest invalided brothers and worshippers of the Thespian muse."[1]

The King had been misinformed as to the actual state of his old acquaintance. O'Keefe was in the enjoyment of a pension of 100*l.* a year from the Lords of the Treasury, and possessed a further annuity of 27*l.* a year, purchased in the Funds, some years previously, by the produce of "a benefit." The King's letter, however, is not the less entitled to our admiration.

The war with the King of Ava had been carried on with such spirit, that this potentate gladly entered into a preliminary treaty, which was considered of sufficient consequence to form a subject of congratulation in the Royal Speech, delivered on the 21st of May, at the prorogation of Parliament. This was followed, on the 2nd of June, by a Proclamation in the *Gazette* for its dissolution, and the general election that ensued increased the popular excitement occasioned by the badness of trade, and the consequent wretchedness of the labouring classes. Mr. Cobbett was the candidate for Preston, where the most riotous uproar continued during the progress of the election. At Carlisle similar disturbances arose, and some lives were lost. But, on the whole, the contests were not attended with

[1] Knighton's Memoirs, p. 201.

more violence than had been usual for many years.

The Government continued on its course, neither very much loved, nor very much feared, and, notwithstanding occasional causes of dissatisfaction, the Grenville portion of it seemed inclined to abide by its fortunes. On the 27th of May, Mr. Fremantle was appointed Treasurer to his Majesty's Household, and on June 3rd, in an announcement in the *Gazette* of the names of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, Mr. Wynn still stands at the head, Dr. Phillimore's name remains, though that of Mr. Fremantle is omitted.

The Emperor Alexander of Russia had recently died, and the abdication of his eldest son, Constantine, in favour of his brother Nicholas, not being properly understood by a large portion of the Russian army and peasantry, a dreadful conflict, attended by severe loss of life, ensued. The publication last year, by authority, of the strange proceedings that brought about a change in the succession in favour of the Imperial writer, or at least dictator, of the narrative,[1] has reawakened the interest that fearful tragedy excited in these kingdoms when intelligence of it first arrived. Mr. Wynn thus refers to it:—

[1] The Mutiny of the Russian army, which occurred at the Accession of Nicholas I., drawn up under his Imperial Majesty's inspection, and published by special Imperial command. By Baron M. Korff, Secretary of State.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall Place, June 14, 1826.

MY DEAR B——,

It may perhaps interest you to know that we have accounts of a serious disposition to commotion in Russia, which has shown itself by local insurrections of the peasants, alleging a supposed ukase of emancipation signed by Alexander previous to his death, and by the conduct of the military, who seem rather inclined to promote than repress this spirit. The issue of the discussions with Turkey has added fuel to the military discontent.

How far the consequences of this may extend, it is difficult even to guess.

The D—— of Y—— is *much* worse within the last ten days, and in addition to his general extenuation, his legs have swelled, which is considered as a highly alarming symptom.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

The state of health of the Duke of York, as well as of the King, excited the attention of politicians, some of whom began to regard the Duke of Clarence with increased interest.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Aug. 30, 1826.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You may rely on my account. The Duke of York is not better, and his case is thought very *ill* of. Whether it may linger on or not, I will not say, but I should apprehend from what I learn that this is not likely. The King is

deeply oppressed with it, and is far from well. There is a Council at Windsor on Friday, for which I am obliged to stay, but shall be in town in the evening. If anything occurs that I think you would like to hear, I will write it.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 13, 1826.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You may rely upon it, the scene is closing very fast with the Duke of York. *I believe* he has been tapped, though this is denied; but nothing can be worse than he is, and not the smallest hope held out. He still talks of going to Brighton, which he will do if he can; but I doubt it. The physicians do not oppose it; at present, however, it is out of the question, from great debility.

Copley, I understand, is not to have a peerage, but remain in the House of Commons. If the Duke of York dies, it will be the break up of a powerful party, and must eventually drive out Lord Eldon. The King suffers greatly from what is passing with his brother, but is not confined, though labouring under gout. Canning gone to Paris. Not one word of truth in Lord Wellesley going to India.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

The new Parliament did not assemble till the 14th of November, and on the 21st the Session was opened in person by the King, whose progress to the House of Peers was attended by popular mani-

festations. The Royal Speech, after alluding to an order in Council that had been issued in September, for the admission into the ports of the United Kingdom of certain sorts of grain not then admissible by law, refers to the peace that had terminated the Burmese war, conveys the customary peaceable and economical assurances, and then dwells on the prolonged sufferings of the industrious classes produced by the evils that affected trade and commerce. In the House of Commons there arose an animated debate on the address, which included a tournament of eloquence, in which Messrs. Brougham and Canning, and Alderman Waithman and Mr. Brogden made themselves conspicuous; the later combatants calling for the interference of the Speaker.

The Corn Laws again absorbed much of the Session in both Houses; but on the 11th of December more interest was excited by Mr. Canning presenting to the House of Commons a message from the King, announcing that the King of Portugal had applied to his Majesty for assistance from the hostile incursions into his territory by the subjects of the King of Spain. It concluded:—"His Majesty makes this communication to the House of Commons with the full and entire confidence that his faithful Commons will afford to his Majesty their cordial concurrence and support in maintaining the faith of treaties, and in securing against foreign hostility the safety and independence of the kingdom of Portugal, the oldest ally of Great Britain."

On the following day Mr. Canning made a speech that must be regarded as one of the most remarkable of his numerous oratorical displays. It should be borne in mind that the Government of France lay under the odium of having secretly intrigued to excite a rebellion in Portugal, as well as the hostility of Spain against her less powerful neighbour, for the purpose of embarrassing Great Britain. The effort at rebellion had been to a certain extent successful, but the armed bands against the Government having been driven out of the kingdom, had found support and encouragement in Spain, whence they had been permitted to invade Portugal with a greatly increased force. When Mr. Canning announced that a British force had been despatched to the assistance of the Portuguese Government, he was greatly cheered; and when he alluded, in a mysterious way to the alleged complicity of France, and expressed a determination to defend Portugal "whoever may be the assailants," the cheering increased in enthusiasm. The speech elicited the cordial support of Mr. Brougham; and Mr. Hume endeavouring to carry an amendment to Mr. Canning's motion, could not find a seconder. On the 13th both Houses adjourned.

Mr. Canning's eloquence created almost as much effect in France as in England, and the Duc de Damas, Minister of Foreign Affairs, thought it necessary to reply to it in the Chamber of Peers, when, after naming the different treaties France

had entered into with Spain, and quoting passages of Mr. Canning's speech, he referred to the possibility of creating disturbances in England, which should find her sufficient employment at home, particularly naming "five millions of oppressed Catholics" as a grand element of mischief, and then ventured to state that the French marine of 150 armed vessels could do more harm to English commerce than the navies of England could effect against France. M. de Damas, though he continued to deprecate a war between France and England, in the same breath vaunted the great things France could do in that contingency. Fortunately there was too much of the orator in both statesmen; the Governments to which they belonged continued to reciprocate friendly professions, and the storm blew over without doing any damage. It may as well here be added, that an English force, under General Clinton, landed at Lisbon, and soon afterwards marched to Coimbra, in the direction of the enemy they had been sent to combat; but the rumour of their approach sufficed to finish the campaign; the enemy dispersed, and the British troops were obliged to be content with doing garrison duty.

The month of November was further rendered memorable by the death, on the 28th, of the Marquis of Hastings, in his seventy-second year. His lordship had survived many dangers, had seen many changes, and had filled many posts. He had served in North America as Lord Rawdon, where his

brilliant defeat of General Green might have been of important service to the Royal cause, but for the subsequent surrender of the Marquis Cornwallis and his army. He was next distinguished in society as the intimate friend of the Prince of Wales, who, as an early portion of this correspondence shows, employed him in various confidential missions. In the House of Lords he more than once displayed considerable talent in debate. Having succeeded his father, as second Earl of Moira, in 1793, he was appointed to command an expedition intended to act in Brittany, but which was abandoned; and in the following year led a reinforcement of 10,000 men into Flanders to the assistance of the Duke of York, in which service he displayed great energy. On his return, in 1797, he was employed to form an Administration, of which he was to have had the lead, but he was not successful; a similar negotiation, undertaken by him in 1811, ended in the same way. In 1806 he came into power with the Opposition, as Master-General of the Ordnance, and in 1812 was appointed Governor-General in India. His administration there, including the episode of the Nepaul war, was worthy of his reputation; and when he returned to England, after having been created Marquis of Hastings, and honoured with the thanks of Parliament, he was nominated Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Malta, on the 2nd of March, 1824—an honorary retirement selected with the hope of benefiting his

health, which had been seriously affected by long and arduous service in various countries. The climate did not have the beneficial effect anticipated, and he left Malta on board the *Revenge*, man-of-war, in a very precarious state, and died as the ship lay in Baia Bay.

CHAPTER X.

[1827.]

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF YORK — THE ROYAL TOMB — THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL ATTACKED WITH PARALYSIS — STATE OF THE MINISTRY — MR. CANNING APPOINTED FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY — HIS ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE A GOVERNMENT — RESIGNATIONS — THE NEW MINISTRY — DEATH OF MR. CANNING — REVIEW OF HIS CAREER — OPINIONS RESPECTING HIM — CONDITION OF THE KING — INTERVIEW OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM WITH HIS MAJESTY — FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT — MR. W. H. FREMANTLE KNIGHTED — LORD GODERICH AND THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM — THE "UNTOWARD EVENT."

CHAPTER X.

As the reader must have observed, doubts were more than once entertained as to which of the Royal brothers, the King or the Duke of York, would predecease the other. The Duke, however, proved to be in the worse state, and breathed his last on the 5th of January, in his sixty-fourth year, to the great regret of the nation, particularly of the army, the interests of which had been ably maintained by his Royal Highness since his return to the Horse Guards, as well as to the Tory party, with whose High Church principles he had been identified since his animated declaration against Popery in a preceding Session.

His funeral was conducted in great state; all the most distinguished men of the time—statesmen, generals, and divines—attending. Few royal princes have been so generally lamented, or left so many memorials of courtesy, liberality, and goodness of heart. His administration at the Horse Guards will long be held in remembrance for the care it displayed for the efficiency of the British army, and the comfort of the British soldier.

After the death of the Duke, the Keeper of the

King's Privy Purse was called upon to perform a duty which a less devoted courtier would have gladly avoided. This was to go in the dead of the night, in the bleak month of January, to the vault of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where the members of the Royal Family found their last resting-place, with no other light than a solitary torch, and there to select a place for receiving the coffin of the Duke of York. Sir William describes the scene graphically—the subterranean cemetery and its various occupants—and never forgot it. He remained in the vault a quarter of an hour, making a careful inspection, and then, not unreluctantly, retraced his steps. The fact was, that the King, remembering the affection that had existed between his deceased brother and his father, was anxious that they should rest together in the tomb as closely as possible, and knowing that he could place the most implicit confidence in Sir William Knighton, entreated him to effect the desired arrangement.

Parliament met on the 8th of February, when, after addresses of condolence to the King, and arranging an addition to the income of the Duke and Duchess of Clarence, the two Houses proceeded earnestly to forward the business of legislation. On the 1st of March, Mr. Canning brought forward the Ministerial measure for regulating the Corn Laws.[1]

[1] At this period his health was in a state that ought to have warned him of his approaching end. "I felt as if every limb, from top to toe, was alive like an eel; and I lay all night, not tossing or tumbling, but as broad awake as if it were mid-day."—*Knighton's Memoirs*, p. 232.

This he did in his usual luminous manner. The subject, however, important as it was, had to give way to the more engrossing interest taken in the Catholic question, which excited a series of animated debates. The motion, however, brought forward in the House of Commons by Sir Francis Burdett, on the 3rd, was negatived on the 6th by a majority of 4—there being on the division 272 against 276. In the House of Lords, discussions on the same subject were carried on with a like frequency, and in a similar spirit. Near the end of this month an event, not entirely unexpected, came upon the political world with the force of an earthquake, convulsing parties in the most violent and singular manner, and completely changing the aspect of affairs at Court and in the State. This was an attack of paralysis, which incapacitated the Earl of Liverpool for further official duty.

It should be remembered that the Government had for some time been far from homogeneous—the Administration of the Earl of Liverpool had worked in great harmony, and had carried on the business of the country most effectively. Just before the death of the Marquis of Londonderry the formidable combination presented by Opposition, the embarrassment occasioned by their frequent assaults on Ministerial measures, and the increasing discontent of the labouring classes and other portions of the population supposed to be represented by the Liberal leaders in the House of Commons, so strongly in-

fluenced the First Lord of the Treasury, that he advised his Sovereign and his colleagues to seek assistance from the more moderate portion of the opposing party. After more than one negotiation, as may be seen in the first volume of this work, the Grenvilles were admitted to a responsible share of the Government. The melancholy termination of Lord Londonderry's brilliant services left an opening for a further addition to this liberal element, and notwithstanding the adverse feeling of the King, and the ill-concealed distrust of the more influential of the Tory leaders, Mr. Canning was appointed his successor.

The Duke of Buckingham wrote confidentially to Mr. Ward soon after the withdrawal of Lord Liverpool from public life, which followed his paralytic attack, comments on the state of parties and partisans, extracts from which have been published by Mr. Ward's biographer: "If the Whigs do not give active support," the Duke observes in one letter, "Canning will not stand, and they *will not* give active support unless employed. They will *at first* (as they did of old in the case of the dear Doctor [Lord Sidmouth]); but remember how soon they deserted him; and from particular circumstances, Canning has not half the strength that Addington had when he first started. Do you suppose the Catholics will leave Canning quiet possession of their question? Not they. You will find Canning and his Protestant friends brought into collision

before the Government is a month old. * * * I agree with you that some of the Whigs will come in 'and make the gruel thick and slab,' but the charm will not be then wound up; for many adverse spirits will be brought into activity and life, by the introduction of these potent ingredients."[1]

In a letter from the Duke of Buckingham of this date to Mr. Ward: "As to the Government itself," writes the Duke, "what is to be hoped for an Administration in which the majority does not constitute the masters, 'letting I dare not, wait upon I would;' and afraid of urging the only question to which they are pledged, lest they should be turned out by the minority of their own selecting? In 1806, we got into the same scrape, but the mine was sprung upon us, and we were not aware of our danger. Mr. Canning has put on Lord Grenville's breeches with his eyes open, knowing the nature, size and depth of the garment which he has induced. I will venture to prophesy, that before many months he will cut a most deplorable figure in them."[2]

It is evident that either the charms of his genius, or the lassitude and impatience of further trouble, occasioned by increasing indisposition, reconciled the Sovereign to his new Minister for Foreign Affairs; for on the 12th of April Mr. Wynn moved the issuing of the Speaker's writ for the election of a member for the borough of Newport, in the

[1] Phipps's "Memoirs of Plumer Ward," vol. ii. p. 168.
[2] Ibid. p. 170.

room of the Right Honourable George Canning, who had accepted the office of Chief Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury. During the previous fortnight there had been a great ferment among all parties in the state, and speculations of various degrees of extravagance were entertained as to the result of Lord Liverpool's retirement. But Mr. Canning's position as a statesman, his influence in the House of Commons, and the great reputation his oratorical and literary talents had procured for him, pointed him out as the most popular Premier that could then be selected. Unfortunately he was not popular everywhere—indeed, many persons who had enjoyed the most frequent opportunities of knowing him, admired the orator more than they loved the man. Some of them reluctantly worked with him, others found it still more difficult to conceal their dislike; and these were to be found among the most eminent of his political associates.

Whether Mr Canning was aware of the distrust he had inspired, is not quite clear; but it would be a reflection on so shrewd a mind to consider him blind to a fact that very little penetration must have discovered. Be this as it may, as soon as he had obtained the commands of the King to form an Administration, he wrote to his colleagues individually, apprising them of his having been so honoured, and courteously expressing his desire that the public service might still enjoy the advantages it had derived from the exercise of their administra-

tive talents. The document contained an important omission. No mention was made of the chief office of the Government to which they were invited to belong; they could, however, scarcely have been in ignorance what such a communication implied. Yet only one of the Ministers (Lord Bexley) returned a frank avowal of willingness to retain his position. Lord Westmoreland replied, stating his inability to give a decided answer to Mr. Canning's proposition till he knew who was to be his leader, and a similar reply came from the Duke of Wellington, Lords Eldon, Bathurst, and Melville, and Mr. Peel. The new Premier lost no time in forwarding the required information, apologizing for the omission. Communications were presently returned expressing disinclination to form part of a Cabinet which could not work in harmony, and conveying an intention to resign. Formal resignations were soon afterwards made to the King, which included all the official appointments except those held by Messrs. Wynn and Phillimore. In short, directly it became clearly understood that they were expected to serve under Mr. Canning, the entire Administration, with a very few exceptions—even including Lord Bexley, who changed his mind[1]—retired.

The task of reconstruction proceeded; the first appointment was the popular one of the Duke of Clarence, as Lord High Admiral. Sir John Copley

[1] He subsequently, as will presently be seen, changed again.

having been created Baron Lyndhurst, was promoted to the Woolsack; and then the Premier turned to the Whigs. He found them accessible; they could have no objection to serve under a leader who was friendly to some of their favourite measures; and, after a moderate delay, the scheme of a new Ministry was officially arranged and published:—

First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer	Rt. Hon. George Canning.
Secretaries of State:	
Home Department	Rt. Hon. W. S. Bourne.
Foreign Affairs	Viscount Dudley.
Colonies	Viscount Goderich.
War	Viscount Palmerston.
President of the Council	Earl of Harrowby.
Lord Privy Seal	Duke of Portland.
President of Board of Control	Rt. Hon. Chas. W. Wynn.
President of the Board of Trade	Rt. Hon. W. Huskisson.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Bexley.

The Marquis of Anglesey became Master-General of the Ordnance, the Duke of Devonshire Lord Chamberlain of the Household, the Duke of Leeds Master of the Horse, and the Hon. W. Lamb Chief Secretary for Ireland. The law appointments included Sir John Leech as Master of the Rolls, Sir Anthony Hart as Vice-Chancellor, Sir James Scar-

lett as Attorney General, and Sir N. C. Tindall, as Solicitor General; the other offices were filled up subsequently.

Parliament met on the 1st of May, with the aspect of the House of Commons very much changed; the Ministerial benches being filled by the Opposition leaders and their supporters, and the Opposition part of the House by the late Ministers and their supporters. Explanations soon followed, in which Mr. Canning took a prominent part, disclaiming any knowledge of the cause of the hostility he had excited in his late colleagues, expressing himself throughout his speech in a tone of moderation, and announcing that the Catholic question stood exactly as it was in 1812, by which he admitted that the new Cabinet was little more in unison on the subject than the old one. In the House of Lords, other explanations were given—the Duke of Wellington, Lords Eldon and Bathurst, denying any concert in their resignations; and for several days both Houses were employed in discussions respecting the breaking up of the late Government. The same subject was taken up out of doors quite as warmly. On the 8th of May, at a public dinner of the clergy of London, the Bishop of London stated that shortly after the late Ministerial changes, the King had sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury and himself, and directed them to make known to their clergy that his sentiments on the Coronation Oath and on the Catholic question were those his revered

father, George the Third, and lamented brother, the Duke of York, had maintained during their lives, and which he had himself professed when Prince of Wales, and which nothing could shake; finally assuring them that the recent Ministerial arrangements were the result of circumstances to his Majesty equally unforeseen and unpleasant.[1]

Under such unpromising circumstances, the Premier summoned the first Cabinet Council to assemble at his own residence on the 20th of May. The Cabinet included Lords Lyndhurst, Harrowby, Bexley, Dudley and Ward, Duke of Portland, Marquis of Anglesey, and Messrs. Canning, Wynn, Huskisson, and Bourne.

Orders and dignities were showered on influential members of the new Government and its supporters. Mr. Robinson had been created Viscount Goderich, Sir Charles Abbot Baron Tenterden, and Mr. Plunket Baron Plunket. Garters were bestowed upon the Dukes of Leeds and Devonshire. The Earl of Carlisle was made First Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and Mr. Tierney Master of the Mint; while knighthood, promotions, and preferments abounded.

In the Legislature the ordinary business proceeded very much as usual, occasionally enlivened by a sharp attack on the policy of the new Administration by some of the more enterprising among their predecessors. Among these the Mar-

[1] "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. xcvii. p. 457.

quis of Londonderry, who had given up his embassy at Vienna, rather than serve under Mr. Canning,[1] made himself conspicuous by attacking certain new arrangements in the Foreign Office. Viscount Goderich introduced to the House of Peers, on the 25th of May, the Ministerial measure respecting the Corn Laws, which was carried by a majority of fifty-seven; and the House went into a Committee on the Bill on the 1st of June, when the Duke of Wellington having proposed an amendment, it was carried by a majority of four. On the 7th of the same month, the new Foreign Secretary delivered a message from the King respecting a provision for the auxiliary force despatched to Portugal; after which, Lord Ellenborough asked for an account of the unusual sum placed last year to the account of "Secret Service," when Lord Dudley and Ward, referring to an impression generally entertained, that his predecessor in office had applied a large portion of it to purchase the support of the press, expressed his entire belief in its injustice. On the 12th of June, on Lord Goderich moving to bring up the Report of the Committee on the Corn Laws, Ministers were again left in a minority of eleven, upon which they abandoned the Bill; not, however, without an explanation from the First Lord of the Treasury,

[1] On Mr. Canning succeeding to the office of Foreign Secretary, Lord Londonderry from a chivalrous devotion to his brother's memory, wrote to the King and to Lord Liverpool requesting his recall. State Paper Office.

who, in one of his sparkling speeches delivered in the House of Commons on the 18th, sought to throw ridicule on the Duke of Wellington for bringing forward his amendment.

More appointments and some changes were made. Lord Plunket, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland; Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India; Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay; and Sir R. Lushington, Governor of Madras, were the principal. Lord Carlisle succeeded the Duke of Portland as Privy Seal, the Marquis of Lansdowne Mr. Sturges Bourne as Secretary of State for the Home Department, the latter gentleman succeeding Lord Carlisle in the Woods and Forests. But previously to that being announced in the *Gazette*, Parliament had been prorogued by commission on the 2nd of July.

How Mr. Canning's Administration would have gone on—whether it would have triumphed over the serious obstacles that lay in its path, and established political changes of the highest human importance, as some of his sanguine friends anticipated, must be considered as speculations. He was not, unfortunately, allowed time to consolidate his power or develop those administrative talents which he was known to possess; for he was taken seriously ill about the end of the summer, and breathed his last on the 8th of August, at the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick;

dying, it has been stated, in the very same room in which Fox had surrendered his spirit to his Maker, under circumstances strikingly similar.

The public life of George Canning commenced at an unusually early age, for it must be dated from his assumption of the duties of an editor when a boy at Eton. His labours on "The Microcosm," while they prepared his mind for more important duties, cannot but have impressed him with a certain sense of responsibility, such as is rarely absent from those who aspire to influence or direct public opinion. The reader most probably remembers, in the early letters of Horace Walpole, a certain coterie among his school cotemporaries that gave themselves particular claims to distinction; but of the high-sounding names they shared, not one had any real significance or connexion with the duties of actual life. The alliance that in the latter end of the year 1786 was formed at Eton for the purpose of conducting a periodical that should make known the talent existing within the school, was of a totally different character. It consisted of George Canning; James Smith, afterwards Paymaster of the Navy; Robert Smith, afterwards M.P. for Lincoln; John Hookham Frere, afterwards Ambassador at Madrid; and Lord Henry Spencer, afterwards Ambassador at Berlin; the first being manager and principal contributor, and the others assisting with their several pens. The paper was published every Monday morning at Windsor, the first number on the 6th

of November; and it continued to appear every week on the same day, till July 30th, 1787, when it ceased as a periodical. The boyish authors appear to have taken Addison and Steele for models of composition, as many of their literary predecessors had done in their first published efforts; but there was so much cleverness in these imitations, that they attracted considerable attention, and were published collectively in two volumes, with the title of "The Microcosm: a Periodical Work by Gregory Griffin of the College of Eton." The work was inscribed to the Rev. Dr. Davies, the head master. Mr. Canning's contributions are signed B.; and of these, the most amusing are the critique on the heroic poem of "The Knave of Hearts" (Nos. 11 and 12), and that on the juvenile books published by Mr. Newbery, of St. Paul's Churchyard (No. 30). Such verbal pleasantries have a particular attraction for young writers, and their first literary essays are generally in this direction.

That "the child is father to the man" was further proved, according to a respectable authority, by other proceedings at Eton in which young Canning took a share. "For several years," we are told, "a society had periodically met in a hall at Eton, for the purpose of discussion. The masters properly encouraged the practice, for its obvious utility. It was a little House of Commons. Mr. Speaker took the chair; a Minister sat on a Treasury Bench, and faced as bold an Opposition as Eton could produce.

'The noble lord,' 'the right honourable gentleman, 'my honourable friend,' were bandied from side to side. The order, the gravity, the importance of the original assembly, were mimicked with the greatest success. In the miniature senate the crown and the people had their respective champions; the advocates were as solemn, as eager for victory, and as active in obtaining it, as the more mature debaters of the Parliament itself. Mr. (Marquis) Wellesley, Mr. (Earl) Grey, and, at a subsequent period, Mr. Canning, distinguished themselves in the intellectual warfare of the juvenile House of Commons."[1]

An interval of ten years elapsed before Mr. Canning thought of coming before the public in a similar capacity; but the time—partly at the university, partly in training for active political life in Parliament—had been so profitably employed, that his literary resources had prodigiously increased. As we are about to refer to his connexion with a publication that exercised a material influence on his subsequent career, it is necessary to recall to mind the state of society at this period.

The example of the Revolution in France was exercising a pernicious influence throughout the United Kingdom. In England, Scotland, and Ireland, societies had been established of a treasonable character, and seditious publications had an increasing circulation. A rebellion against the con-

[1] "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. xcvii., p. 175.

stituted authorities had already commenced in Ireland, and a similar outbreak was anticipated in this country. Disloyalty was not confined to the poor and ignorant; for persons of education and position showed it both by their language and conduct, and countenanced, to a most mischievous extent, French ideas in favour of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The more conspicuous supporters of the monarchy were daily denounced, and attacked with the vilest abuse; and the grossest misrepresentation was employed against the Government and the defenders of its measures.

Mr. Canning had been brought into Parliament by Mr. Pitt in 1793, and had made his first speech in the House of Commons in the month of January of the following year. He soon took a leading part in the stormy discussions of the period, and distinguished himself by a marked hostility to the dangerous sentiments that were then making themselves heard in and out of the House. This, of course, recommended him to the Minister, who in 1796 appointed him Under-Secretary of State, and secured his return at the general election for the Government borough of Wendover. His official services were, however, soon to be eclipsed by duties of a totally different character; for in November the following year, in conjunction with several distinguished statesmen and men of letters, he produced the first number of a periodical, the object of which was to expose the fallacies constantly cir-

culated by the promoters of revolution in the United Kingdom. It came out under the title of "The Anti-Jacobin, or Weekly Examiner," preceded by a preface, in which the intentions of the publication were carefully explained. The detection of falsehood, the circulation of truth, and the support of the true interests of the nation in preference to an admiration for foreign usages, totally at variance with English notions of order and good government, were put forward as its best claims for popular support.

The first number, bearing the date "Monday, November 20th, 1797,"[1] in eight pages quarto, double columns, was published by Wright of Piccadilly, under the editorship of Dr. Gifford. Various attempts have been made to identify the writers, but on insufficient authority. Upcott, subsequently well known in connexion with the London Institution, and as a collector of books and autographs, was in the employment of the publisher, and has stated that he copied all the contributions, to prevent the handwriting being discovered; but there is no evidence that he was admitted into the confidence of the distinguished men who took such pains to maintain their incognito. Conspicuous among these was the Chancellor of the Exchequer (William Pitt), who furnished articles on finance,

[1] In an article in the "Edinburgh Review," No. 219, on "Canning's Literary Remains," the date is given November 7, but that in the text is on the first page of the "Anti-Jacobin," vol. i., 1799, Fourth Edition.

and occasionally assisted in other departments, but irregularly, and not to any great extent. Mr. Hookham Frere, one of the labourers on the "Microcosm," was also engaged upon the "Anti-Jacobin," and among other pieces, furnished the first part of "The Loves of the Triangles;" the second and third having been written by Mr. Canning, who, in truth, contributed the best papers, and so liberally that, considering his arduous official employments, and the various demands then made upon his time, their cleverness is wonderful.

In his school-boy essays he had burlesqued the hypercriticism then prevalent; in these more matured productions he humorously attacked the artificial poetry and false philosophy at this time much patronized in certain circles. Nothing can be more happy than his poetical parodies. "The Needy Knife-grinder," the "Inscription on the Cell of Mrs. Brownrigg," are masterpieces; scarcely less amusing is the song of "The U-niversity of Göttingen," apparently intended to ridicule German sentimentality. The last verse was added by Mr. Pitt.[1] This appears to have given great offence to some German authors; and the distinguished historian, Niebuhr, in his "Geschichte des Zeitalters der Revolution," has thus expressed his indignation:—

"Canning was at that time (1807) at the head of Foreign Affairs in England. History will not endorse the judgment pronounced by cotemporaries.

[1] Edinburgh Review, No. 219.

Though possessed of great talents, he was not a great statesman, but belonged to that class of political adventurers who are content to seek distinction as squires to some celebrated knight. He was accomplished in the two classical languages, without being a scholar, and was especially familiar with literature. He had also some poetical talent, but only of a satirical character. Originally he had connected himself with the Whigs, in opposition to Pitt; but Lord Grey, noticing his ambition, playfully recommended him to join the Government, and make his fortune. This he did, and was employed to write newspaper articles and satirical verses, which were frequently directed against his former friends.

"Through the influence of Government, he entered Parliament. While eloquence flourished, and the great speakers survived, his talent excited admiration; but his political seniors did not relish his spiteful epigrams, nor the bad taste of his jests. He associated himself with the Anti-Jacobins, who defended all that belonged to existing institutions. This society established a periodical, in which the most honoured among foreign authors were scandalously attacked. At this time German literature was very little known in England, where it was associated with ideas of Jacobinism and revolution. Canning then published, in the 'Anti-Jacobin,' with the title of 'Matilda Pottinger,' a most disgraceful pasquinade on Germany. In this composition Göttingen is

described as a sink of infamy, professors and students as a gang of miscreants; while licentiousness, incest, and atheism, are described as characteristics of the German people. Such was Canning's beginning; at all events, he was useful as a sort of political Cossack."

The historian evidently had but a confused recollection of the production that had excited his anger, referring to a well-known song, the burden of which is "Göttingen," while denouncing the drama of "The Rovers," the scene of which is Weimar; but he commits mistakes much more serious in attributing to Mr. Canning a desertion of the principles which he professed on commencing his political career. While at Oxford, he became intimate with Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Earl of Liverpool), and other members of distinguished families; to whom, a little later, he was indebted for his *entrée* to the best society of the metropolis when he left College. He soon attracted the notice of Mr. Pitt; but whether by the intervention of Mr. Jenkinson or Mr. Wellesley (afterwards Marquis Wellesley), to both of whom the introduction is attributed, is not certain. Through his kinsman, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, he gained access to Devonshire House, where he met the Marquis of Lansdowne, Mr. Fox, and all the leading Whigs. The Duke of Portland offered him a seat in Parliament, which he declined, on account of his political opinions not being in unison with those

professed by the duke's party.[1] A little later, 1793, the duke and some of his friends joined Mr. Pitt, and then Mr. Canning was returned with Sir Richard Worsley, through the Minister's influence, for the borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight.

The writers of the "Anti-Jacobin" were not content with correcting the misrepresentations and ridiculing the pretensions of the political philosophers who were striving to raise themselves out of their native obscurity by the startling novelty of their doctrines; they presently soared at higher game, and the most distinguished members of the Whig party soon had to endure the merciless lash of their satire. The personalities so indiscriminately indulged in, gave grave offence; and, notwithstanding the care with which the authorship was concealed, Mr. Canning's connexion with the work became known, and he long laboured under the hostile influence this knowledge created, not only from his political opponents, but even from his political friends. Many persons, acting with him in the Government, or belonging to the same party, much as they may have admired the statesman, feared the satirist, and this apprehension on various occasions coloured the sentiments they have expressed respecting his character. The most remarkable estimate of his qualifications has been given by a cotemporary, not less celebrated for the epigrammatic sharpness of his own

[1] "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. xcvii., p. 175.

pen when attacking public abuses, than distinguished in society as a brilliant conversationalist. Sydney Smith thus alludes to Mr. Canning in 1808:—

"I can only say I have listened to him long and often, with the greatest attention: I have used every exertion in my power to take a fair measure of him, and it appears to me impossible to hear him upon any arduous topic without perceiving that he is completely deficient in those solid and serious qualities upon which, and upon which alone, the confidence of a great country can properly repose. He sweats, and labours, and works for sense, and Mr. Ellis always seems to think it is coming; but it does not come; the machine can't draw up what is not to be found in the spring. Providence has made him a light-jesting, paragraph-writing man, and that he will remain to his dying day.

"When he is jocular he is strong: when he is serious he is like Samson in a wig: any ordinary person is a match for him: a song, an ironical letter, a burlesque ode, an attack in the newspaper upon Nicholls' eyes, a smart speech of twenty minutes, full of gross misrepresentations and clever turns, excellent language, a spirited manner, lucky quotations, success in provoking dull men, some half information picked up in Pall Mall in the morning—these are your friend's natural weapons: all these things he can do: here I allow him to be

truly great; nay, I will be just, and go still further —if he would confine himself to these things, and consider the facile and playful to be the basis of his character, he would, for that species of man, be universally allowed to be a person of a very good understanding. Call him a legislator, a reasoner, and the conductor of the affairs of a great nation, and it seems to me as absurd as if a butterfly were to teach bees to make honey. That he is an extraordinary writer of small poetry, and a diner-out of the highest order, I do most readily admit. After George Selwyn, and perhaps Tickell, there has been no such man for this half-century."[1]

The writer had evidently neither forgotten nor forgiven Mr. Canning's attacks upon Mackintosh, Erskine, and other eminent leaders of his own party, or he would not have been so unjust as he shows himself in this passage. George Selwyn was a fashionable utterer of eccentric observations, that sufficed to raise a laugh in his day. When asked if he never ate vegetables, he acknowledged to having once eat *a pea;* and on being invited to partake of some beef, replied querulously, "You know I never eat beef, nor horse, nor any of those things." Mr. Canning's social talent was of a much higher order; he possessed imagination and scholarship, to which Selwyn had no pretensions, and his wit was brilliant when the latter contented himself with being merely ludicrous.

[1] Peter Plymley's Letters.

Looking with an unprejudiced eye upon Canning's contributions to the "Anti-Jacobin," and comparing them with similar productions from the pens of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, Dr. Wolcott, Theodore Hook, and Thomas Moore, we think the author scarcely deserved the heavy censure he received on their account. It was stated by an apologist for great political changes, that "revolutions were not made with rose-water," neither can they be prevented with eau de Cologne. It may be said that Mr. Canning chose to carry on a war against unscrupulous opponents, and imitated their tactics. But though we cannot but regret that he sometimes mistook the direction in which he sent his missiles, we are bound in fairness to acknowledge that the nature of the conflict in which he was engaged rendered a nice discrimination not always possible;[1] and, objectionable as personal remarks are, there is nothing in them resembling the coarseness of Lord Byron's references to the unhappy death of Lord Castlereagh, or his equally improper allusions to the infirmities of George the Third.

The publication proceeded regularly, much to the discomfiture of the admirers of revolutionary move-

[1] In the year 1807 Mr. Canning was attacked in Parliament for his connexion with the "Anti-Jacobin," when he declared that "he felt no shame for its character and principles, nor any other sorrow for the share he had had in it than that which the imperfection of his pieces was calculated to inspire."

ments, and to the no small annoyance of several public characters, who had no kind of sympathy with them or their doctrines, till the thirty-sixth consecutive number (July 9, 1798), which was the last. It stopped not because the Minister got frightened, according to one authority,[1] or in consequence of the chief contributor having obtained a seat in the House of Commons and the post of Under Secretary of State, according to another[2] (for Mr. Pitt was not the political Frankenstein to be alarmed at his own creation, and Mr. Canning had taken his seat and accepted office before the "Anti-Jacobin" had been thought of): it was discontinued simply because its demands upon the time of its chief literary supporter interfered with the performance of his official and parliamentary duties. A monthly review, with the same title and professed objects, was then started, but this was under different auspices and supported by different writers.

When Mr. Pitt surrendered his charge of the Government to Mr. Addington, Mr. Canning, who went out of office with his patron, employed his pen frequently in attacking the new Minister and the new Administration. One of the most remarkable of his poetical compositions he wrote at this time for the first meeting of the Pitt Club—"The Pilot that Weathered the Storm;" and to a well-known newspaper, called *The Oracle*, he furnished a

[1] Mr. Hammond.

[2] "Edinburgh Review," vol. cviii., p. 128.

succession of capital political pasquinades. One, directed against the family influence of the Premier, was long remembered:—

"How blest, how firm the Statesman stands
(And him no low intrigue shall move),
Circled by faithful kindred bands,
And propped by fond fraternal love.

When his speeches hobble vilely,
What 'Hear hims' burst from brother Hiley;
When his faltering periods lag,
Hark to the cheers of brother Brag."

The cognomen of "The Doctor," which had some time before been fixed upon Mr. Addington, on the assumption that he had originally followed his father's profession, was a source of jokes and squibs in endless variety. In a parody on a very familiar soliloquy, he is made to say:—

"My name's the Doctor; on the Berkshire hills
My father purged his patients," &c.

The pretensions of his policy to good intentions were as mercilessly ridiculed in a poem bearing that title, which thus concludes:—

"'Twere best, no doubt, the truth to tell;
But still, good soul, *he means so well!*
Others, with necromantic skill,
May bend men's passions to their will;
Raise with dark spells the tardy loan,
To shake the vaunting *consul's* throne:

In thee no magic arts surprise,
No tricks to cheat our wondering eyes;
On thee shall no suspicion fall,
Of sleight-of-hand, or cup and ball;
E'en foes must own thy spotless fame,
Unbranded by *a conjuror's* name.
Ne'er shall thy virtuous thoughts conspire
To wrap majestic *Thames in fire.*
And if that black and nitrous grain
Which strews the field with thousands slain,
Slept undiscovered yet in earth,
Thou ne'er hadst caused the monstrous birth,
Nor aided (such thy pure intention)
That diabolical invention.
"Hail, then, on whom our State is leaning,
O Minister of mildest meaning!
Blest with such virtues to talk big on,
With such a head to hang a wig on;
Head of wisdom—soul of candour,
Happy Britain's guardian gander,
To rescue from th' invading *Gaul,*
Her 'commerce, credit, capital!'
While Rome's great goose could save alone
One Capitol—of senseless stone."

"The Grand Consultation," and his "Ode to the Doctor," were directed against the same object, with much the same spirit; indeed, it must be acknowledged that Mr. Canning contributed largely to the task which the principal wits of the time appear to have set themselves, of laughing the new Minister out of office. This took place in 1803, Mr. Pitt returning to the helm of affairs, and Mr.

Canning accepting the appointment of Treasurer of the Navy, with a seat in the Council. He remained in office till the death of his patron, in 1806, when the changes that ensued sent him again into opposition till the following year, when he became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under the Duke of Portland, and in this post remained till he retired from the Administration, in consequence of his duel with Lord Castlereagh. He now took what was considered a more popular line of politics, and was returned for Liverpool in 1812, for which important constituency he subsequently stood four contested elections, and in each with success. He continued without official employment for two years, and then was sent Ambassador to Lisbon, to congratulate the Prince of Brazil on his return to his European dominions. In 1818 he was appointed to the responsible office of President of the Board of Control, but resigned on the alleged cause of not wishing to participate in the proceedings taken by the Government against Queen Caroline, to whom he had been a confidential adviser some years previously.

Mr. Canning had many warm admirers among his contemporaries, the most distinguished of whom was Lord Byron, by whom he was described in prose as "a genius, almost an universal one, an orator, a wit, a poet, and a statesman;" and in poetry he has referred to him in terms equally eloquent:—

"Yet something may remain, perchance to chime
With reason, and what's stronger still, with rhyme,
E'en this thy genius Canning! may permit,
Who bred a statesman, still was born a wit;
And never even in that dull house couldst tame
To unleavened prose thine own poetic flame;
Our last, our best, our only orator,
E'en I can praise thee."

Wilberforce, who professes a partiality for his gifted cotemporary, has this passage in his Diary:—"He knew Canning well at Eton; he never played at any games with the other boys; quite a man, fond of acting, decent and moral. Dr. Parr, violent against him in public company, says, 'I know the interior of the man, and despise and abhor him.'"[1] This is strong language; but it comes from one who often spoke vehemently, and was an uncompromising political partisan. From a more friendly authority we learn:—"Often, during a debate," says Mr. Buxton, "would he whisper to me hints and witticisms which would have filled the House with merriment, and overwhelmed his opponent. But when he rose to speak, though he went close to the very thoughts he had poured into my ear, he restrained himself from uttering them; nor would he ever give vent to any one allusion which could give another pain."[2] Though this is not quite correct of Mr. Canning's displays of oratory, which were sometimes very

[1] "Life." Second Edition. Vol. v. p. 139. [2] Ibid. p. 217.

bitter, it shows the kind of fascination which his inexhaustible pleasantry exercised over the minds he desired to influence.

His admirers generally were loud in their congratulations that he did not go to India when appointed Governor-General a little before the death of Lord Londonderry; but we incline to the opinion that his genius might have found there far more scope for development than it met with in the higher yet more restricted position of Foreign Secretary and First Lord of the Treasury. In this we are borne out by a cotemporary and friend, who observes: "Canning, it seems, Governor-General! It is impossible to say that this is the most natural or desirable termination to the career of the most distinguished speaker in the English Parliament; but I have no doubt that the appointment is a fortunate one for the country he is sent to govern."[1]

Had he proceeded to his post, remained there, succeeded in eclipsing his predecessors by the grandeur and wisdom of his administration, he could have returned to England when political animosities had died out; and then, with the sterling advantage of popularity founded on respect for his character and admiration of his talents, he might have taken upon himself the direction of the Imperial Government, and, after a fair period of successful legislation, have left a name to posterity in the rare

[1] "Letters of the Earl of Dudley to the Bishop of Llandaff," p. 312.

qualifications of a statesman second only to that of William Pitt. The chance, however, thus missed, has fallen to his son, with a result that leaves the surviving admirers of the father nothing to desire.

The King's condition in June, as described by himself, is worth transcribing :—"As to myself I am pretty well bodily; but I have little or no use of my poor limbs, for I can neither walk up nor down stairs, and am obliged to be carried, and in general to be wheeled about everywhere; for my powers of walking, and even of crawling about with crutches, or with the aid of a strong stick, are not in the smallest respect improved since you last saw me; at the same time that my knees, legs, ancles, and feet swell more formidably and terribly than ever. This, I am sure you will agree with me, ought now to be seriously attended to without delay by some plan devised and steadily acted upon, in order to stop the further progress, and to remedy it effectually and finally; for there is no question it is an increasing and progressive evil (at least so I fear), unless some steps be found, and that speedily too, of averting it."[1]

All that the most skilful medical attendants could do was to keep off the disease — drive it away was out of the question.

During these important events the Duke of Buckingham was preparing to go abroad; but before he left the country he sought and readily obtained an

[1] Knighton's "Memoirs," p. 235.

interview with the King. It lasted a considerable time, and was of the most confidential nature. Indeed his Majesty appears to have thrown off all reserve, and to have expressed himself very freely respecting his Ministers and the state of parties. Nothing, however—as no doubt the Duke was well aware—was likely to arise from this exhibition of royal feeling. His Majesty's confidential servants often suffered in a similar way when the King obtained an opportunity of opening his mind to some one with whom he had been, at one time of his life, in habits of intimacy.

What was thought of some members of the Government, may be gathered from the next letter:—

LORD CASSILIS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

St. Margaret's July 21, 1827.

I value most highly, my dear Duke of Buckingham, the kind feeling which you have always expressed for me; but I cannot upon the present occasion take your proxy, without committing suicide upon my own political opinions. The Whigs—at least, the part of them who have Canning in custody—I am decidedly averse to; and the Premier, with the utmost regard for your determination, I hold utterly unfit to stand helmsman of *The Royal George;* both old and recent events disqualify him in my notion for being the first Minister of this country, and the country at large think him disqualified. The public are averse to trust him. If he has said to the King that he will not belong to a Cabinet who entertain the Catholic question, or said to the King *anything like it,* in my opinion he has a very awkward case to square with the people, who have so often

heard his declarations for emancipation, and seen him so eagerly engaged in the promotion of it. But I need not trouble you to heed my opinions about Mr. Canning; you know him well; and Wynn should have a pretty good guess at his colleagues' love for him. To be plain, my intention is to embark in the same boat with Mr. Peel. As a friend, I love the man; as a politician, I hold him to be *upright, able,* and *honest;* and our family being connected by marriage, you will say, when all put together, make a very clear demand upon me to follow his fortune. There is no man who has received more personal kindness from the King than I have, and I am very grateful for it; but I cannot support his present Administration, and I am convinced he will not feel in any degree angry for my not doing so.

I had a long letter yesterday from the Duke of Clarence. He seems much pleased with his reception everywhere, but particularly delighted with the manner in which the Duchess has been entertained at Mount Edgcombe.

Ever, my dear Duke of Buckingham,

Your very faithful and obedient servant,

CASSILIS.

The following communication will put the reader in possession of the state of parties at this period:—

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF CHANDOS.

Englefield Green, Aug. 10, 1827.

MY DEAR LORD,

What is to become of the Government, I will not at present venture to predict. Nothing can be more uncertain than the present prospect; and *I* cannot but think it will

terminate in a dissolution in the course of the autumn. If the present Cabinet are to stand alone, who can lead the House of Commons? Certainly not Wynn or Huskisson; and I know Sturges Bourne won't undertake it. In short, I see no man who ought to do so but Peel; he has the country with him as an honest, upright, and honourable man. To make an exclusive Government on either side appears to me to be impracticable with the present divided feelings of the country; and for one I see the last prospect, and only prospect for the country, in a mixture of the present leading men of all parties, looking only to the real stability of the Government; for nothing can be more fatal than attempting to carry on the business with a feeble Administration. As to attempting the Catholic question, it is impracticable, and the Whigs must know this.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord,

Sincerely yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

The immediate changes in the Ministry caused by the death of Mr. Canning, were, Viscount Goderich to be First Lord of the Treasury, and the Duke of Portland Lord President of the Council; while Lord Wm. Bentinck and Mr. Herries were sworn of the Privy Council. These were announced on the 17th of August, and on the 22nd the Duke of Wellington was gazetted as Commander-in-Chief — an appointment that disarmed much hostility. The Government was then speedily arranged, Mr. Herries taking office as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Huskisson Colonial Secretary, Mr. C. Grant President of the Board of Trade and

Treasurer of the Navy. In the other offices there were no important alterations. The effect of the new arrangements may be seen in the report sent to the Duke of Buckingham, then in Italy.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 16, 1827.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I got your letter from Gibraltar. Long before the receipt of it everything had been settled with regard to the Government after a great deal of difficulty and suspense. The result, as it now stands, promises permanency; at least so *I hear*, though I cannot think that all parties could have been satisfied. It is a decided victory against the Whigs, though it must be admitted on a matter on which they could not have resorted to the extent of quitting the Government. The character of the Government is now exclusively, I may almost say, Canningite, having got rid of its chief, who had become to many so personally objectionable. The resumption of the Duke of Wellington in command paralyzes his opposition, and, of course, weakens the phalanx in your House. It also very much subdues the opposition of that part of the Whigs who were so violent against him last Session. I cannot give you a better history of the whole turn of the arrangements than by referring you to the *sort of authorized* statement of them in the *Times* newspaper, which you will see; and, if not, in any other paper, for it was copied into all of them. I hear the different members of the Government are perfectly satisfied with one another; that is, I mean that Lord Lansdowne is content with all that was done by Lord Goderich. The ground of greatest satisfaction to the Whigs arose from the

immediate decision taken to retain the Government as it stood, and, under no circumstances but that of dire necessity, to have recourse to the Tories. There never was the slightest advance towards them. I have never had the slightest conversation, in any quarter of authority and influence, during or since these transactions—the whole was managed with great prudence and temper. The great object of the Opposition is now to preserve their strength in your House; I doubt if they will be able to do this. I do not believe it to be intended to make new creations, but some advancement in the peerage is on the *tapis;* I can only give you one name *certain*—Lord Cawdor an earl. The opening of the Parliament will be a trying scene for the new Government; but if they have the full support (which I know they have), I have not the smallest doubt of their standing; and should they get through one Session, they are fixed for a period. Great measures of economy are intended, and the finances being in a state of considerable improvement this quarter, will give them great advantages. Your uncle is delighted at Frankland Lewis's appointment, which is undoubtedly a very good one. I should doubt very much as to Huskisson's health enabling him to stand the fatigue of leading the House of Commons. If it does, he will have little difficulty otherwise. The only man to contend against is Peel, and he will have enough on his hands with Brougham and others. Lord Anglesey goes to Ireland in November. Nobody named for the Ordnance. The Duke of Gordon left by his father merely an annuitant of 12,000*l.* per annum on his estate, which goes away after his death (even if he leaves daughters) to the Duke of Richmond.

Lord Hertford is returned, I am told not pleased with his expedition. M'Naghten is left in the new Treasury Commission, which looks like his support.

Yours, &c.

No particular advantage accrued to the Grenville party in consequence of these arrangements, with the exception of the order of knighthood conferred on Mr. Fremantle in October. The Duke, however, lost no time in communicating with the head of the Government, promising his support, which elicited the following reply.

VISCOUNT GODERICH TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Downing Street, Nov. 8, 1827.

MY DEAR DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,

It is impossible for me not to feel most deeply sensible of the kindness of your letter, and most grateful for the confidence which you are pleased to place in me, manifested as it is in so marked a manner by entrusting your proxy to my hands. I am happy to say that I shall be enabled to hold it myself, having only one (that of Lord Grenville) in my charge. I can have no difficulty as to complying with your wishes upon the different points upon which you state your opinion; and if upon other questions which may arise, I shall feel any doubt as to what your course would be, I can either abstain from giving your proxy, should the question arise on the sudden, or I could communicate with some of your friends in England, if there were time for doing so. I trust, however, that there will be no cause for any difficulty, as you are so good as to express yourself in such friendly terms, and thereby to allow me to infer that generally speaking I may venture to give your proxy in conformity with my own vote and the interests of the Government.

I will not trouble you with a longer letter; I would but repeat my gratitude for your kindness and confidence,

which will contribute in no small degree to enabling me to contend with the various difficulties which necessarily belong to my present situation, and against which I shall do my best to struggle successfully.

Believe me to be,
My dear Duke of Buckingham,
Your Grace's
Very faithful and sincere servant,
GODERICH.

The only other letter of any interest that followed the Duke to Italy, to inform him of what was going on at home, was from one of his uncles.

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, Dec. 8, 1827.

MY DEAR DUKE,

My brother's information of your having at length a permanent *pied à terre* upon the most southern point of our European continent, gives me an opportunity of writing a line to you, which I embrace rather for the pleasure of communicating with you, than that I have anything to say that is worth communicating to you. I rejoiced to hear of your being stout enough to scale Mount Ætna, and trust that, before this time, you will have taken steps enough, or your mule for you, to enable you to compare these two mountains of the older world, and to have disserted most scientifically upon them with your learned and valuable companion. I find, too, from the Duchess (who, *par parenthese*, is in London, and looking remarkably well,) that you are likely by this time to meet both the Nugents and the Thompsons, so that you will have quite a family

party in your opera-box at Naples. Of your yacht, I rejoiced to hear from Captain Schomberg that she was cruising homeward; for to say the truth, I have been not a little uneasy under the apprehension of Greek pirates, who would have been rather an over-match for you.

I can send you no news, for you are nearer to Constantinople than we are, and that is the present point of interest; though I confess I think it will not long continue so, as I persuade myself that before long all will be quietly settled. At home, at least, we have very little military aspect, for the only measure just announced is the reduction of the greater part of the yeomanry, to the saving of about 100,000*l.* per annum. Dennison goes Secretary to India, and his vacant seat at the Admiralty is to be filled by Lord Sandon. Coppleston has got Llandaff, with the Deanery of St. Paul's, and Sutton has been ill enough to make many on the bishops' bench cast an eager eye upon Lambeth; but while they were consulting who should be the fortunate successor, the poor Archbishop has for the present recovered. Lambton's peerage, I hear, is settled; and Sir C. Stuart, A'Court, and Lord Clanwilliam are likewise talked of for the House of Lords.

T. G.

The reference to Constantinople is to the complication with the Sublime Porte, which brought on that "untoward event," the Battle of Navarino.

CHAPTER XI.

[1828.]

RESIGNATION OF LORD GODERICH, AND APPOINTMENT OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AS FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY — HIS DIFFICULTIES IN FORMING A GOVERNMENT — LORD GRENVILLE'S VIEWS — POSITION OF THE NEW MINISTRY — CAUSE OF THE LATE GOVERNMENT'S DISSOLUTION — CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION TOWARDS MR. WYNN AND DR. PHILLIMORE — NEWS FROM PARIS — MR. HUSKISSON'S MISTAKE — THE DUKE'S MINISTRY REORGANIZED — DON MIGUEL — MR. O'CONNELL ELECTED M.P. FOR THE COUNTY OF CLARE — HUNTING AT ROSNY — DEATH OF LORD LIVERPOOL — RESIGNATION OF THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEY AS LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER XI.

THE last year had been fruitful in Ministerial changes, but their "infinite variety" was far from having been exhausted. A succession of fusions had been attempted till the Administration had become so thoroughly charged with Whiggism, that the genuine Tory material was not very clearly perceptible. The Goderich experiment appears to have been the shortest and most unsatisfactory of the series, and then recourse was had to the original material whence the fabric derived its reputation. The Duke of Wellington was placed, as we stated in the last chapter, at the Horse Guards; it proved a convenient stepping-stone to the Treasury; for Mr. Canning's successor, finding the task he had undertaken above his strength, gave in his resignation, and the King, after consulting with the Duke, graciously commanded his Grace to form a new Government. The following, from one of the principals in the transaction, describes some of the causes that led to it.

VISCOUNT GODERICH TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Downing Street, Jan. 18, 1828.

MY DEAR DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,

Sir Edward East will probably have acquainted you with the change which has taken place in the Government, and with the circumstances which have occasioned it. I doubt not that he will also have reported to your Grace the conversation which he has recently had with me upon the subject. But after your kindness to me and the confidence which you have been pleased to repose in me, I should be guilty of great inattention towards you, if I did not myself state to you what I have mentioned to Sir Edward East, although for obvious reasons I cannot *now* enter into details.

The circumstances which occurred, and which have produced a change in the Administration, were of a nature to render it impossible for me to continue at the head of the Government, without being compelled to remodel it upon principles different from those upon which alone I undertook originally to conduct it. I did not see the possibility of being able to do so, under the peculiar circumstances in which parties now stand in this country, with any reasonable prospect of success; and this state of things led the King to feel it to be necessary to consult the Duke of Wellington, and to entrust to his Grace the new arrangement which might become necessary.

Nothing is at present known as to the shape which matters will take: but it seems to be evident (from what I hear) that the Duke's object is to form a Government upon as wide a basis as circumstances may permit, and certainly not to confine himself to those who marked their hostility to the Administrations which succeeded Lord Liverpool's.

To such a Government, formed upon those principles, and constituted of such materials, I could not entertain an unfriendly feeling: and indeed it would be inconsistent with all the opinions which I have ever possessed, and which have uniformly guided my course, if I were to take a hostile attitude.

Whether any proposition is likely to be offered to me, I cannot pretend to say: none has hitherto reached me: and it might certainly be a matter of doubt with me how far *under present circumstances* I could with advantage, and perhaps with credit, accept an office. I should, however, be very sorry that it should be supposed that any circumstances which have recently occurred, as affecting my situation, have disinclined me from public life, or made me feel that I could no longer do service in official conjunction with a Government whose principles and character I approved. My great object at this moment is, that the country should have the benefit of as strong a Government as can be formed upon those principles which I have always advocated and supported, and which I have always understood to be conformable to your own views and feelings. How far this may be practicable I am unable to say, and I am very sorry that I am equally unable to write to your Grace with more particularity: but I cannot conclude without saying that I trust that you will not consider any circumstances which may personally affect me, as constituting any impediment to whatever line of conduct you and your friends may, under all the complications of the present state of things, think it most expedient and useful to pursue.

Believe me, my dear Duke of Buckingham,

With great regard,

Very sincerely yours, GODERICH.

The Duke of Wellington lost no time in making arrangements for a new Administration. Serious obstacles lay in his way—almost insurmountable difficulties seemed to present themselves at every turn. In the existing state of parties the chance of establishing a stable Government was so remote, that few prudent statesmen would have ventured it. But he who had stood at bay within the lines of Torres Vedras before an overwhelming host, was just the man for such a position. What that position was may be gathered from the ensuing communications:—

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

January 24, 1828.

You will have heard, and from those who are on the spot, as to the turn which this new revolution of politics has given to the face of things here. My own view of it is a melancholy one, with a reference to the only one point which is of vital importance; I mean the state of Ireland, which the bigotry, and I fear I must add the selfish feelings of the Church of England are driving fast into rebellion and separation.

For all the rest it must shift for itself, and those who are to come after us must take it as they find it, just as we took the difficulties created by those who went before us. But I much fear that not only you, but even I, in spite of so many winters and so much infirmity, may yet be destined to see the breaking out of the fire, now scarcely smothered, and which, whenever it does burst forth, I am very confident the youngest among us will not live to see extinguished.

But enough of these forebodings. I write just now only for the purpose of sending you the enclosed extract of what I write to-day to Lord Goderich about your proxy. The first part of my letter to him is only a long, too long, preachment about my own proxy—not at all worth making you pay postage for, but containing in substance that I do not mean now to enter my proxy to him; having taken that step merely to mark a support of Canning's Government and his—that I shall return to my former *complete* abstinence from taking any part in the politics of the day, and that I am very anxious he should not attribute this to any diminution of personal regard towards him, &c., &c.

I hope you will approve of what I have done in this case in your absence and for you. Its object was merely to prevent your being, even in appearance, at all committed in this new state of things. What you will do I know not, and am much too ignorant of the true bearings of the question to advise. What I should myself do, if I had anything to do, I am at a loss to say; probably I should then do from choice what I now do from necessity—keep far aloof from them all.

These things of course absorb all other news, unless it could interest you to know that my neighbour at Wycombe Abbey (not less than four or five years certainly) older than I am, is going to marry a Welsh widow, the *youngest* (at 58 that is), the youngest daughter of Dr. Johnson's *Thralia*.

Your last letter to my brother is not quite comfortable about your health. But in the Bay of Naples at least there can, I trust, be no fear of malaria; for it was there, and in that neighbourhood, that the Romans, if my classics are present to my recollection, went for health when fevers and deaths filled the rest even of *their* Italy.

Of myself I can speak on the whole well—much better certainly than I ever expected to be, or had any reason for such expectation.

LORD GRENVILLE TO VISCOUNT GODERICH.

Dropmore, Jan. 24, 1828.

. . . . The Duke of Buckingham's proxy is placed by himself in your hands. On that point, therefore, I have no pretence to interfere otherwise than by the expression of an opinion which you will of course follow or not, as your own better judgment shall dictate. But certainly, in my view of the case, the dissolution of a Government, his decided support of which he meant by that step to manifest, is a circumstance which would, I think, naturally make it desirable that his proxy should not be entered at all, until he shall have had the opportunity of forming for himself a new determination on the course he may think proper to pursue in a state of things so new, and in many respects, so untoward to his wishes.

Excuse the liberty which I here take, in friendship (if you will allow me so to speak) both for him and for yourself.

Believe me ever,

&c., &c.

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, Jan. 28, 1828.

MY DEAREST DUKE,

I was upon the whole much gratified by your letter from Messina of the 20th December, because, although your activity had seemed to be a little too much for your constitution, you spoke so confidently of all fever being gone, and of your moving immediately to Naples, that I write to you thither

in full trust that you have long ago arrived there, and will have the full enjoyment of that delicious climate. I hope it will not be as changeable as our Administrations, of which there has just come out a new edition of the Ultra-Tories headed by the Duke of Wellington, and joined by Huskisson and Lord Dudley, who continue in the same offices. It does not yet appear to be finally settled how the Army is to be disposed of; at first the idea was to put Lord Hill at the head of a Military Council, like the Naval Council; then again Lord Hill was to be put upon the staff only as a general officer; but neither of these projects appearing to satisfy the objections raised of the Army being by those arrangements equally under the influence of the Duke of Wellington through his friend Lord Hill, the report has latterly been that the Command-in-chief would be offered to Lord Rosslyn, who however had refused the offer of the *Ordnance and Cabinet.* How it will all end it is not easy to foresee. Lord Eldon is clamorous at having been entirely unnoticed by the Duke of Wellington till all was settled, when he wrote a line to Lord Eldon to say that he *had taken it for granted* that he did not mean to take any public situation. Lord Westmoreland is in the same state of mind for the same reason; and Lord Lowther quite furious at Arbuthnot's appointment to the Woods and Forests, which he had meant for himself, and still more outrageous at being told that the Vice.-Pres. of the Board of Trade had been reserved for him in order that some Corn Bill might be settled between *Grant* and him.

What I think the best part of the arrangement is that the Irish Government will not be changed, and considering that there is a Cabinet of the Duke of Wellington, Bathurst, Peel and Goulburn, I think the Irish Government is left more Catholic than could have been expected.

As Lord Wellesley arrived just as the last Government was dissolved, many people expected that he would have been applied to either by the King or by his brother; and this latter case was the rather expected from there having been more cordial intimacy between the two brothers at that time than for the last twenty years; but, as far as I am informed, Lord Wellesley has never had one word said to him upon the subject since the Duke of Wellington first received the King's commands to form a Government. In short, there is altogether the strangest jumble of politicians and political parties that I remember to have seen in the very many years that I have mixed with them, or looked on upon them. I suppose the next three weeks or month will enable the speculators to form better judgment of the result than there are means for at present. What I have said to you is the talk of the town, but you will probably have had better intelligence from your son from his habits with Peel and the Duke of Wellington.

The family is, I think, much as you left it; all regretting your absence, and hoping for your return. Lady W. and her family are all well and prosperous; so is Lady Fortescue and Lady Carysfort, although the last accounts from Elton describe increasing weakness and debility in Lord Carysfort.

My neighbours have not yet got possession of York House; because though the price is agreed, there is some proceeding that will take another month in the Court of Chancery to make a secure title.

The King is got pretty well again, though still weak upon his legs. Huskisson's health seems little likely to stand the fatigue of office and Parliament for any long time. Of my brother you hear from himself; he is much

as he was; we none of us get stronger at our age. Come back to us as soon as you can, my dearest Duke.

Ever most affectionately yours,

T. G.

The second Session of the existing Parliament opened on the 29th of January with a Royal Speech delivered by Commission, in which the recent interference between the Turks and the Greeks, ending in our destruction of the fleet of "our ancient ally," was a principal feature. On the 11th of the following month Viscount Goderich in the House of Peers entered at considerable length into an explanation of the causes which had led to a dissolution of his Government. There existed an irreconcileable difference between two members of his Cabinet respecting an appointment he had sanctioned, and, as he discovered that there was no prospect of acting harmoniously with his colleagues, he thought it most prudent to surrender the authority with which he had been invested.[1] The fact was, Mr. Tierney had suggested to Lord Goderich the propriety of appointing Lord Althorp to the office of Chairman of an intended Finance Committee, and both Mr. Huskisson and Lord Goderich had coincided in the advantage of such an arrangement. Mr. Herries was then informed of it, appeared to acquiesce, but the following day expressed decided objections, and stated his inten-

[1] Hansard, xviii. 272, New Series.

tion of resigning if the appointment was made. The First Lord replied to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "If such be your intention, my Government is at an end. If you retire, my Administration is no longer in existence." The result was a dissolution. On the 9th of January the King, while giving the Duke of Wellington full powers to nominate a new Ministry, stated that the last had been dissolved by their own dissensions; "and if," added his Majesty, "they had not so dissolved themselves by their own acts, I should have remained faithful to them to the last."[1]

This appears to have been "a lame and impotent conclusion" to a Government from which so much had been anticipated in the way of carrying out the grand administrative projects of their previous chief; but experience and shrewd lookers-on, such as Lord Grenville and his brother, knowing how loose were its elements, were not surprised at its rapid disorganization. The reputation and ability of Mr. Canning held it together for a time; but there is abundant evidence in the correspondence already printed, that it wanted those principles of solidity and cohesion without which no Ministry can last.

The new Government was announced on the 25th of January: it displayed some significant changes. Of the Goderich Ministry there were retained the Earl of Dudley, Mr. Huskisson, Mr.

[1] See speech of Mr. Peel, Feb. 18. Hansard, xviii.

Herries. The more important additions were the Duke of Wellington as Premier; Mr. Robert Peel, Home Secretary; Mr. Goulburn as Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Earl of Aberdeen, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Lord Ellenborough, Privy Seal.

A sweeping change took place in the diplomatic appointments. Several Peers were created: Sir Henry Wellesley as Baron Cowley, Sir Charles Stuart as Lord Stuart de Rothsay, Sir William A'Court as Baron Heytesbury, Mr. Lambton as Baron Durham, Mr. Wilbraham as Baron Skelsmersdale, and Mr. Wallace as Baron Wallace: a few Irish Peers were added to the English peerage, and Mr. Canning's widow was created a Viscountess.

Mr. Wynn left the chair of the Board of Control. Dr. Phillimore also went out at the same time. The Duke of Wellington did not make any extraordinary efforts to retain their services—indeed, as will be seen, they were ejected with very little ceremony.

RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, Feb. 25, 1828.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Since you left this, many and strange events have occurred in this political world, and I cannot think that they are all finally closed at this moment. The Government formed under the Duke of Wellington is strong, and composed of

materials which could and ought to stand, and will stand, unless the same causes operate as did with the late Government—of internal quarrels breaking them down. The explanations which have taken place in the two Houses all tend to create disunion; but nevertheless if they weather the first six weeks, I have no doubt it will become a settled Government and strengthen with its growth. There are however physical difficulties which must soon display themselves for its overthrow, and these arise from the state of health of the Duke of Wellington and Huskisson, both of whom cannot stand the fatigue of a violent Session. I should have been glad that you had been in England at the formation of this Government, because I own it appears to me that you might in such case have had the opportunity of once more concentrating your interest. From what I learn, Lord C. is quite disposed to support this Government; indeed I find from himself that this is the case; and should you entertain the same feeling, it would at least have reunited your political relations with him. I have had no communication with the Duke of Wellington. There never was such a *hodge-podge* as these arrangements have made in the two great parties of the country. The Whigs are also completely satisfied with the principles avowed by the Government, and on that ground do not mean to oppose, but still they have not approximated among themselves; there is still the party of Lord Grey and Lord Lansdowne. The ultra Tories, at the head of whom is Lord Eldon, are outrageous, but still are not to oppose; so you will see that in the first instant there is to be no professed opposition. All this sounds very good; but to me and those who have witnessed the proceedings of Parliament, it is quite obvious that this cannot last six weeks, and I have no doubt we shall see a very violent and very powerful opposition

arrayed. The Government have given way in the formation of a Finance Committee, which from the character of its members I should think would go very great lengths in its economical recommendations. This I consider as a dexterous mode of carrying great retrenchments into effect by converting all odium attendant upon it from the Government to the Committee.

Lord Anglesey is gone to Ireland, but in a dreadful state of health, his *tic* every day increasing; but he is gone with a much stronger feeling of Catholicism upon him than he ever before displayed, and has made no scruple in stating this publicly. How these feelings, supported as they will be by his secretary Lamb, will accord with the feelings of the Home Secretary, remains to be proved. The first display of patronage by the Duke of Wellington was the giving Dean Ponsonby the vacant bishopric, which he announced to Lords Fitzwilliam and Grey, and giving Ponsonby's deanery to Dawson's brother. This at least shows equal justice in the distribution of favours to Catholic and Protestant.

An attempt has been made to raise a great feeling of jealousy against the Duke of Wellington's influence as Commander-in-chief, and certainly there was a constitutional difficulty in his retaining the two offices; but by placing Lord Hill in the command (though there can be no doubt he retains all the influence), the power of attacking is diminished; and I am quite sure this will never be the smallest impediment to him. The greatest difficulty, I think, he will find, is in the House of Lords, which is quite unmanageable; and the eight or ten peers lately made will not render it more easy to the Government.

The change has been a great blow to Wynn, who, independently of being turned out (which he might or might

not have expected), has been treated rudely in the manner in which it was done, and I fear he will not get his pension, which will be a very serious loss to him. His friend Phillimore is ruined by it. He is more unlucky, because at the moment of the dissolution of the last Government, there was an arrangement on foot by which he was to have succeeded to the situation of King's Advocate.

I have been for the last month occupied by a charge imposed on me of attending Don Miguel; I was detained for three weeks at Plymouth waiting for a wind; you may easily imagine how painful this long delay was. His Majesty, with the exception of the gout, which hangs upon him much more seriously and severely than it has ever yet done, is perfectly well, and is expected in town, to remain a month. Lord Grenville has had a very serious attack within the last three weeks, but is again rallying; I fear however he has not strength of constitution left, to bear up long against these repeated attacks. He was at Dropmore, and is coming to town the moment he can move.

Adieu, my dear Duke; with best wishes and regards, believe me as ever yours most devotedly and affectionately,

W. H. F.

Parliament proceeded quietly under the new *régime*—the Opposition leaders went back to their accustomed benches with less reluctance than might reasonably have been expected. Apprehensions were expressed of a military dictator, and objections taken to the illustrious commander's assumption of the highest offices, civil and military; but a temporary arrangement having been

made, by which Lord Hill was permitted to transact business at the Horse Guards, and a general impression gaining ground among partisans of all kinds, that the new Minister would make a Peninsular campaign in their favour, the proceedings in both Houses went on much as usual. On the 26th of February Lord John Russell moved the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act, and was supported by Lords Nugent and Milton, Mr. Brougham, and other speakers. On a division the motion was carried by a majority of 44, and the House resolved itself into Committee. The Bill was read a second time on the 14th of March, and committed on the 18th. It was moved by Lord Holland on the 1st of April in the House of Lords, and, having gone through its intermediate stages, was passed on the 28th.

On the 27th of February the Marquis of Anglesey was gazetted Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

A gossiping letter here welcomely breaks the current of politics. This is followed by a communication of a graver character.

VICOMTE DE CHABOT TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Paris, April 17, 1828.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The *date* of this letter will account for my not having answered sooner your letters of the 28th of February and of March the 8th. I begin by the former, respecting the "case of Lord William Fitzgerald." Our intimacy would

have put me in possession of the fact, *had* it existed, of his having a girl, married, &c., &c.; but *pro forma*, I have put the question, and I answer positively that there is no foundation whatever for the story. Indeed *his age* alone would answer in the negative; and now having done so, should the facts attach to any other person of the family, pray say that I beg leave to decline any interference whatever in the subject. I am very glad you have enjoyed your *chasse*, and I have delivered your message to the Duchess of Orleans, who is much pleased at the attention shown to you.

Many thanks for the letter you sent me from the Duchess; I have received another from her in answer to one I had written informing her of my return home, and I rejoice to hear she has heard of you, and that you write cheerfully of yourself; you will probably return home in the autumn. Pray let me know when your plans are fixed. The Londonderrys are here for about a month. I was very glad to meet him and talk over old times. Of politics much is afloat, and all as yet doubtful. Hopes are entertained that peace may yet be preserved in the Levant, but that is a faint hope. A loan of 4,000,000*l.* sterling is negotiating here to enable the French army to be completed to the establishment, they say, of 250,000 men; they are now about 150,000. The talked-of expedition to the Morea seems given up; in the meanwhile a liberal line seems to be adopting by the Ministry, such as liberty of the press, limiting ordinances to certain cases, law of election, &c. &c. M. de Chateaubriand wants to go to Rome as Ambassador; le Duc de Riviere may be talked of as his successor; if Laferronaye was *Gouverneur*, probably M. Pasquin would be *Ministre des Affaires Extraordinaires*. All is uncertain as yet, but *something* of all this will be.

Adieu, my dear Duke; I hope your next cruise will turn out favourably. Remember me to the party, and believe me

Ever yours sincerely, C.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, April 19, 1828.

From what has passed in the House of Lords it seems probable that there will be no division there on the Dissenters' Bill. Eldon, abandoned by his bishops, seems, as was to be expected, to make a poor hand of it; and whatever else of good or evil may be going, the dissolution of that league is a great public benefit.

About your proxy I have never heard any more from Lord Goderich; but I have no doubt, as you and he are now, as you ought to be, in direct communication on the subject, he will honourably comply with your instructions. He seems to take, on set occasions, the line of a firm adherent to the present Government; and how he will conduct himself on the Catholic question I have no means, nor, in truth, any interest to concern myself. God bless you. I am better, but still extremely averse to encounter the worry of London; and I think it more probable that I shall remain here.

On the 8th of May Sir Francis Burdett once more brought forward a motion in the House of Commons on the Catholic claims, which, after a debate that lasted three nights, was brought to a division on the 14th, when it was carried by a majority of six in a House of 538 members; and Sir Francis, with some of the most distinguished

supporters of the measure, had a conference with the Peers in the Painted Chamber on the 19th, to communicate the resolution of the Commons. The subject was again discussed by the Lords, and, after a protracted debate, the Bill was again thrown out, on the 10th of June, by a majority of 45.

An event occurred about this time that created considerable amusement, and in a remarkable way showed the military manner in which the Duke of Wellington was disposed to carry on his Government. A Bill for Disfranchising East Retford was brought under the consideration of the House of Commons. Mr. Huskisson thought proper to vote in opposition to Mr. Peel, the Ministerial leader in the House, on the question of transferring the Elective Franchise to Birmingham; and after the division, about two o'clock in the morning (May 20), he wrote a letter to the Duke, announcing what he had done, and expressing his inclination to resign, "to prevent the injury to the King's service which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his Majesty's Councils." From his subsequent explanation in the House of Commons, it appears that, whatever he wrote, he did not mean the communication to be taken as a resignation; but the Duke insisted upon taking the plain sense of the document, and accepted the surrender of office forthwith. Lord Palmerston, who had given a similar vote on the same occasion, but had not been so imprudent as to propose to a man so famed

for decision of character as the Premier, to quit his Administration, added his explanation during the discussion (June 2), and stated his intention to resign, because his colleague was no longer in the Ministry. These resignations necessitated further changes, and, on the 30th of May, the Earl of Aberdeen and Sir George Murray were gazetted Secretaries of State; and Mr. Courtenay President of the Board of Trade. On the 9th of June Sir Henry Hardinge was appointed Secretary-at-War. On the 13th Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald succeeded Mr. Courtenay, and on the 16th he was gazetted Treasurer to the Navy. On the 21st the official programme was thus announced:—Arthur Duke of Wellington, First Lord of the Treasury; Robert Viscount Melville, Right Hon. Robert Peel, Earl of Aberdeen, and Sir George Murray, Secretaries of State. Right Hon. H. Goulburn, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Wallace, Right Hon. John Sullivan, Lord Ashley, Marquis of Graham, Lawrence Peel, Esq., and the Right Hon. T. P. Courtenay, Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

The two Houses continued to meet and debate on the subjects then before the public, till the 28th of July, when Parliament was prorogued by Commission.

Two incidents that occurred towards the conclusion of the Session, diversified for a time the somewhat tame character of political proceedings. One happened in Portugal, and was the seizure of

the sovereignty of that country by Don Miguel, to the prejudice of the legitimate Queen Donna Maria, the dispersion of the Constitutional Army, and flight of the leaders of the same party. The other occurred in Ireland, and was the election, through the influence of the priests, of Mr. Daniel O'Connell for the county of Clare, in place of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who had placed himself before his constituents for re-election, having accepted the office of President of the Board of Trade. Mr. O'Connell, being a Catholic, was legally excluded from a seat in the House of Commons; nevertheless, the influence applied on the electors was so great, that he gained a majority of 1075 over the former member for the county, notwithstanding that the latter had been an ardent advocate of Catholic emancipation, and had proved himself a most efficient representative. The power of O'Connell over his countrymen was next displayed by the creation of an association called the Order of Liberators—a series of corresponding clubs proposed to be spread over Ireland for the purpose of acting upon future elections. Both incidents startled the Imperial Government: they recalled the Ambassador from Lisbon, and to the young Queen of Portugal, who was on her way from Brazil to take possession of her dominions, they offered the hospitality of England.

In all these various changes and appointments, the Grenville party still continued without a sign of

recognition from the Premier. The appointment, however, of Mr. Charles Williams Wynn on the 9th of August, as one of the Commissioners for Licensing and Visiting Lunatic Asylums, perhaps may be taken as evidence that they were not entirely overlooked; but though the Duke's Government had not yet received its final shape, and further alterations were impending, there did not seem any immediate probability of their return to office. The Duke was travelling in Italy, and not without much personal risk.

VICOMTE DE CHABOT TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Paris, Sept. 9, 1828.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I was delighted to receive a letter from you a few days ago. The Duke of Orleans is very sensible of your kind attention, and requests you will receive his best thanks as well as best wishes for your travels. I am sorry you have met with the annoyance of a quarantine. I shall be anxious to hear of your future proceedings. Philippe often inquires for you, and desires his very kindest remembrance to *Il Signor Duca*. I have nothing new to say to you. We are looking *Eastwards*, to see how the wind is likely to blow in the *West*. Everything becomes possible, yet we may *hope* that it may end without a further war. It will be fortunate, indeed, should it be so. In England, *all eyes* are turned towards the Premier with more anxiety than is generally felt for an individual so placed. He has an arduous task to perform at *home* and abroad; and no one, I believe, is more alive to those difficulties than himself.

It appears that the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland is most popular, and that all he can do he does to deserve it. I have now seen ten Lord Lieutenants in Ireland, and some of them, I believe, have found it no easy job to administer satisfactorily, and certainly it is not grown easier than it was wont to be.

Adieu, my dear Duke.

Ever sincerely,

C.

P.S.—I have heard from the Duchess about a fortnight ago, and was happy to hear she was well. We had the Nugents here on their return to England; she in high force, and the good general most happy at having got so far north. I was much shocked indeed at poor Torrens'[1] death. How soon he followed his poor master!

What a miraculous escape yours must have been, and how fortunate your having had a *sheet-anchor* to bring you up at last! I trust this will be your last, as it was your first, difficulty.

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Vale Royal, Sept. 9, 1828.

Your letter from Castella Mare, my dear Duke, gives a most fearful account of your danger at Pantalaria, though followed by the welcome details of your Providential escape. I therefore sincerely rejoice to find that your marine travels are, soon after this time, to be exchanged for those of chaise and horse, and that the yacht is to swim home again. In truth, the newspapers have furnished such a succession of piratical plunders and massacres as have always presented

[1] Sir Henry Torrens.

to my apprehensions for you other dangers than those of storms and tempests, against which your marine troop did not seem to promise any adequate security.

Our weather, (that in July and the first days of August seemed to threaten the destruction of the harvest,) has since that time been steadily fine; and therefore I do not find that the price of corn has been, or is likely to be, materially influenced by it. If more corn had been deteriorated, it would have furnished a new evidence of the folly of our corn averages; for those averages being taken upon corn of the worst quality and price, as well as of the best, the low price and value of all our damaged corn would have presented such a result as would have prevented our importing good corn except at a price that could not be afforded. I went by Bowood to Castle Hill, from whence I came hither; and in those four hundred miles I saw and heard no great evils produced, and though much hay had been spoiled, a good deal had been saved, and those crops very abundant. The foreign accounts of the corn harvest in Poland, Germany, and France, are bad, and Sweden only is described as rich in this corn harvest.

Glynn's neighbours are all preparing for his birthday-ball, at the end of this month, on his coming of age; after which, I am told, his mother gives him "champ libre," by going to Paris to pass the winter there with her daughters, which I think will be dull enough for her, who does not like French society, and has no English friends of her own at Paris. Sir Stephen talks of going abroad, and stopping a little time with his French mother in his way. I am shortly going to Eton, and by Trentham, Althorp, and Audley End, towards Dropmore, where I expect to find my brother much as I left him; though, of course, at our time of life, every year leaves us something less strong

than it found us. He walks less, and rides very little, but is out all day in his open chair, and enjoys his new walks and flower-beds with as much eager delight as ever.

My original objections to the formation of a Government concocted out of the Army List and the ultra-Tories are quite insuperable, on constitutional principles alone; neither is there any instance since the Revolution of any Government so adverse in its formation to all the free principles and practice of our constitution; neither am I reconciled to it by the little tricks which I think I have traced in it, nor by the sort of double conduct which is intended to allure both parties, without substantial promise to either; and last of all, I am quite convinced that the military Minister (though he would be glad, as all other Ministers would be glad, to see the Irish danger at an end) will never compromise his situation by the steady pursuit of the only line fit to be adopted. Meantime the measure of Catholic Emancipation is fast approaching, and that irresistibly. I know from the most unquestionable authority, that very many of the Orange Protestants in Ireland are now so entirely alarmed at their own position, that they express in the most unqualified terms their earnest desire for any settlement of the question at issue on any terms; and Dawson's recantation, which the papers will have shown you, has been the signal for a more undisguised display of the same opinions. It must take place, as I believe, before many months shall pass. Come back to us soon, my dear Duke, and take care of yourself to return well.

Ever most affectionately yours,

T. G.

VICOMTE DE CHABOT TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Paris, Dec. 14, 1828.

I was beginning to think you had surrendered at discretion to some renowned chef de brigand, my dear Duke, when I had the pleasure of receiving yesterday your letter from Rome of the 28th ultimo. I am delighted to find you in good health and spirits, and homeward bound in summer, when I hope we shall talk over all that has mutually occurred to each other since we parted. You seem to have made excellent use of your time, and I admire you for it; for all exertions in this world, of body and mind, are more or less praiseworthy from circumstances, and your occasional bad health must be, to a person of less strength of mind than yourself, at times very irksome and trying for travelling exertions; but indeed I have often witnessed at *home* and *abroad* that you are not niggard of your person. I am just returned from *Rosny*, where I was invited by the Duchesse de Berry to pass four days for a *chasse;* and having been twice invited before and not gone, I set off accordingly for the seat *de mon ancêtre* Sully. The guests were to the number of *fifty*. The château is magnificently furnished, and really the bedrooms very comfortable; all this I inspected minutely, as having been my *first* visit *dans un château*, or to speak more strictly, my second. The next day we *chassed* the *sanglier*, of which I had in the course of the day one peep at. As many of our sportsmen had guns, he was at last shot by one of the party, who gallantly run him through the body after he was lying preparing his attack. The next day was better fun; we went out shooting, and brought home about two hundred rabbits and hares. There were *fifteen* guns; amongst them the Duchesse de Berry, who shot six rabbits, and Mademoiselle de la Rochejaquelin,

a daughter of the D. de Duras d'abord, Princesse de Talmort, and although a shooter, really a pleasing nice woman; dinner at seven, very good; in the evening, cards, billiards, and dancing for the young ones; *mais du reste liberté entière*, and the mistress most obliging and civil to her guests. So much for Rosny, and so much for Buckingham. Of politics you know more than I do, and much better able to appreciate both at home and abroad the most likely results of all this. I think, however, that if peace is not made *this* winter between Turks and Russians, nothing but a miracle can prevent the war spreading wider than it is at present.

I am sure you will be pleased with Tivoli; as to Rome, it is a d—d gossiping town, and the less one has to do with society the better, the more so as it affords so much better employment of time. The spring there I should think very delightful at first. Where are you lodged, and how do you like it?

C.

On the 4th of December the Earl of Liverpool died, at Combe Wood, his health greatly injured by incessant application to public business. He commenced his career at the general election in the year 1790, when he (then Mr. Jenkinson), was returned for both Appleby and Rye. He took a prominent part in the debates during all this stormy period, and filled from 1793 to 1806 the appointment of one of the Commissioners of the India Board, with marked ability. In 1799 Mr. Jenkinson, now Lord Hawkesbury (his father, who had held several Ministerial offices, having received an earldom), filled the post of Master of the Mint; but on the formation of Mr. Addington's Adminis-

tration in 1801, he was promoted to the more important office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which he held till Mr. Pitt returned to power in 1804, when he accepted the Seals of the Home Department, and was called up to the House of Lords. On the death of Mr. Pitt he received the King's commands to form a new Administration; but with a full knowledge of the difficulties of the position, he gratefully declined the honour, and remained unemployed, holding the honorary post of Warden of the Cinque Ports, conferred by the King, till Mr. Pitt's friends resumed office, when he returned to the Home Department. Having succeeded his father in 1808 as Earl of Liverpool, he became Secretary at War under Mr. Perceval; after Lord Castlereagh's duel with Mr. Canning, and on the assassination of the Premier in 1812, he accepted the onerous post of First Lord of the Treasury, which he filled during a period of unexampled national greatness, till struck down by disease. It has been the fashion with certain political writers to depreciate the character of the Earl of Liverpool; but independently of the invaluable evidence of his Ministerial acts, his official correspondence[1] must satisfy any unprejudiced reader that he possessed great administrative intelligence, and exhibited unremitting attention to public business.

[1] See the concluding volumes of the "Correspondence of the Marquis of Londonderry." An article in the "Edinburgh Review" (January, 1859), gives an account of Lord Liverpool's Administration until 1822.

The year did not close without other significant changes in the Administration. Lord Melville had been appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Ellenborough Chairman of the Board of Control in September, and the business of the country appeared to be going on quietly and satisfactorily. The calm was delusive; the Catholic question had threatened in succession half-a-dozen Ministries with dissolution or some important desertion; and that of the Duke of Wellington was destined to suffer from it in the same way. At the head of the Catholic hierarchy at this period was Dr. Curtis,[1] with whom, when Rector of Salamanca, the Duke had been intimate during one of his most brilliant campaigns, and had remained on friendly terms with him up to his promotion to the Primacy of Ireland, which it is said his Grace in a great measure influenced by his recommendation.

On the 11th of December the Duke wrote a reply to a letter received from the Catholic archbishop, in which his Grace ventured to state that he could see no prospect to a settlement of the Catholic question, unless the friends of emancipation would bury the subject in oblivion for a short period, and employ the time diligently in a consideration of its difficulties. As the Catholics of Ireland had long been violent on this question, such an announcement, coupled with such a pro-

[1] The reader will find in the Duke's despatches several communications to Dr. Curtis.

posal, was likely to meet with anything but an agreeable reception. Dr. Curtis, after consulting with his friends, wrote back rather indignantly declining to bury the subject at all. If this had been the end of the affair, not much mischief, to the Government at least, would have been done; but Ireland had lately received a new Lord Lieutenant, in the person of the Marquis of Anglesey, and he having read the Duke's reply, took more grave exception to its proposal, and wrote to his Grace, stating his opinions respecting it in a still more uncompromising shape. The result was the same that followed the imprudent communication of Mr. Huskisson. It was regarded as a resignation, and the Marquis ceased to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

CHAPTER XII.

[1829.]

IMPORTANT CHANGE OF OPINION — CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION A GOVERNMENT MEASURE — SUPPRESSION OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION — PUBLIC EXCITEMENT — THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, WHILE IN ITALY, DRAWS UP AN ADDRESS TO THE COUNTY OF BUCKS — EFFECT OF ITS PUBLICATION IN ENGLAND — DUEL BETWEEN THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND THE EARL OF WINCHELSEA — THE DUKE'S EXPLANATION — THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEY ATTACKS THE DUKE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE SUBJECT OF HIS DISMISSAL FROM THE LORD LIEUTENANCY OF IRELAND — THE KING LAYS THE FIRST STONE FOR A PUBLIC MONUMENT TO GEORGE III. — THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S OPINION OF O'CONNELL — PROSECUTIONS FOR LIBEL.

CHAPTER XII.

REMARKABLE as had been the changes which the last year had witnessed, they were thrown into the shade by one that made itself manifest at the commencement of the present. The first month had not terminated before rumours began to be freely circulated of a decided alteration of opinion on a most important subject, shared by the Sovereign and his confidential servants. This seemed so incredible that many persons withheld their belief; they could not reconcile themselves to it as a possible contingency under any circumstances. Yet the report was more confidently repeated every day; it stated that the King, notwithstanding assurances so lately proffered to the English clergy of the earnestness of his opinions on Catholic emancipation, had given up the idea of further opposition; that the Duke of Wellington, notwithstanding the frequent stand he had made against the measure, was about to bring it forward in the Cabinet; and that Mr. Peel, notwithstanding his retirement from Mr. Canning's Government because he could not support a Catholic Relief Bill, was about to introduce one to the House of Commons, and to

become its advocate with all the earnestness and energy he could infuse into the subject.

Stanch Protestants stood aghast when the intelligence took a shape which implied probability; and the more resolute who would not be convinced, and determinedly insisted on the impossibility of such recantations, were unpleasantly assured of the truth of the report when Parliament opened on the 5th of February, and the King's Speech was made public. There, after a long announcement of treaties completed, which did not excite the slightest interest, and an assurance of the improvement of the revenue, which, in the general excitement, few cared to hear, the Royal Speech gave a startling indication of a decided change of policy on the Catholic claims, preceded by a resolution to suppress the Catholic Association.

The ferment in the public mind which this declaration produced, can now scarcely be imagined. The clergy and laity of the Church of England held meetings in which the greatest alarm was expressed; and petitions for and against the proposed measure were brought in marvellous abundance before both Houses, their presentation giving rise to the most animated discussions.

The Duke of Buckingham, though absent from the country, was not idle at this crisis, as may be gathered from Lord Grenville's and Mr. Thomas Grenville's letters. He drew up an address to the freeholders of the county of Bucks, which was published in more than one form.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Feb. 7, 1829.

You will have heard of the strange revolution of conduct (though not of opinion) which has taken place here. It is most gratifying to me to have at last a prospect of living (if it please God) to see the accomplishment of a measure to which so much of my life has been devoted, and so many objects repeatedly and ungrudgingly sacrificed. But I must say I never saw an act of conciliation (if for such it is really intended) done in so ungracious and peevish a form; and if the needless irritation thus studiously created should still, as it too probably may, give rise to fresh difficulties, the little I can do by my proxy or advice must be done in such way as may give expression to those feelings. Something of this sort I have written to Sir Geo. N——, who sent me your letter to him; but in the great uncertainty which still hangs over all this business, its particular course is very difficult to be foreseen.

Considering that when Bernard saw the Duke, Government had already determined on its course, a more decided repugnance to all confidential or kindly intercourse with you could hardly have been manifested. But this is comparatively of small moment. What is much more important, and really quite inexplicable, is that with such a purpose, taken, as he now says, so long ago as last autumn, he should have kept Ireland for six months on the verge of a civil war, giving continually fresh scope and fresh fuel to the mutual irritation on both sides the water, and crowning the whole by the letter to Curtis, and the recall of Lord Anglesey!

There is little probability of my feeling the disposition, or at least the power—and in this case they are nearly synonymous—to overcome my nervous dread of the noise

and turmoil of London, of which I have what I am sensible is something of a *morbid* apprehension. I shall therefore have little means of *talking* these things over with Sir George; but if he wants advice in any unforeseen occurrence, I have referred him to my brother, who feels and believes on this whole subject exactly as I do.

It is said that we are to have a county meeting here to vote by clamour and mobbing—for it can no otherwise be done (the sense of the higher ranks being now decidedly the other way)—a Protestant petition. I make no comment on this, for I know it cannot but be painful to you. But I am confident you will not be surprised or hurt at being told that, if this happens, I shall not feel any consideration sufficient to deter me, unpleasant as it will be, from writing to the sheriff a letter to be read at the meeting (for go there I cannot), expressing, in the strongest words I can put together for the purpose, the sentiments which I have held and upheld on that question for thirty years.

Every day I see more and more cause to wish that you were (or rather that you could be) here to act for yourself in circumstances in which you are so deeply interested. But your reasons are unanswerable, and I can only lament *that* with the rest.

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, April 9, 1829.

MY DEAREST DUKE,

I cannot refuse myself the gratification of writing you a hurried line by this post to tell you that your Bucks address, which has appeared in the newspapers as well as in a separate publication, has produced great sensation,

and has been very universally admired—so much so that there is scarce anybody whom I have met who does not appear much struck with it, and who does not speak of the impression which they find it makes among their friends. Written in the hurry and agitation in which it was, it is really surprising that you should have been able to write with so much effect.

Either on Wednesday or Thursday next, at latest, the two Bills will have passed the Lords, probably with the same majority of 105; and then this question, long the source of domestic discord and public evil, will be quietly set at rest for ever; and as I last wrote, there will not be the slightest inconvenience or difficulty in your returning to a home filled as usual with your family and friends, in your consigning to utter oblivion all that has been so painful and disquieting to your feelings. I heartily wish, indeed, that you were here now, not only to enjoy the triumph of a cause in which you have so long laboured, but peculiarly because you would be pleased and gratified by the general applause and satisfaction that is given to your address. My friend Lord Spencer, amongst others, told me that highly as he himself had commended it, he was almost surprised at finding the extent of its influence and effect.

Lord Eldon's last dying speech over the Protestant cause will be followed to-morrow, as we are told, by one from H.R.H. the Duke of C——,[1] in which he will announce that if the King gives his assent to this Bill, he, the Duke, will quit the country, never to return to it! There is some fear that a declaration to that effect may produce a very general cheer even in the dignified assembly of the House of Lords.

[1] Cumberland.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, April 14, 1829.

MY DEAR NEPHEW.

Though very doubtful when and where this will reach you, I cannot forbear writing one line to congratulate you and myself on the account which I have just now received, that the Bill for repealing the Roman Catholic disabilities is actually a part of the law of the land. I may now say that I have not lived in vain.

I was delighted with your letter to the Hundreds, &c. I need not tell you, for you will hear it from all, with what general—I might almost say universal—admiration and applause that letter has been read; but you will not hear from any—I myself can hardly express it—the very peculiar and high gratification which I derived from the manner in which you there express yourself towards me.

I can only say that as far as the warmest and kindest affection towards you can deserve such sentiments, in so far at least I am conscious of so doing.

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, April 14, 1829.

MY DEAREST DUKE,

Your letter, this moment received, scarce leaves me the means of answering it by to-day's post, though I hurry to do so, in order to take the chance of finding you at Rome.

I am much obliged to you for your kind offer of Maii's Classics; but as I have already purchased them separately as they appeared, the collection would be of no use to me, particularly as I have them on large paper. If, however, any new one has come out within the last six months, as I know of none such, I should in that case be obliged to you

for a copy, if any has appeared so recently as not yet to reach the English market. I have always heard that he is a great Jew, and therefore if you buy for yourself, you had perhaps better buy of him through a bookseller.

I wrote to you last week to tell you of the great impression that your Bucks address had made, and the very high praise with which everybody, high and low, seems to speak of it. This very favourable result appears to me to offer to you additional motives for your not delaying your return home, where you will, under such advantageous auspices, resume your own natural position and condition with the increased respect and consideration which your pen has created, though your person has been wanting. I am sure that your own good sense and reflection will show you the truth and force of all that I urged upon this subject in my letter of last week, and therefore I will not weary you with unnecessary repetitions, which the hurry of this day's post at a late hour will not afford me, even if I desired it.

The royal assent was yesterday given by commission, I believe, with a very reluctant mind, and many rumours are abroad of the King being persuaded by the Duke of C——[1] to look about for the means of forming a new Administration; but this practically will be found so full of difficulties that I hesitate to give faith to it, and attribute the report only to the harsh language in which the King is said to indulge himself whenever he speaks of the Duke of W——. The King, however, is fonder of abusing his Ministers than of changing them; for a few hard words cost him nothing; but a great political change could not be made, if at all, without much more trouble, fatigue, and worry to the King than he will like to expose himself to.

[1] Cumberland.

It appears that, previously to the publication of his address, the Duke of Buckingham had communicated to the First Lord of the Treasury his ideas on the subject that was at this period exciting general attention in England. There is reason to believe that they made an impression on the Government; and, if we do not mistake the sense of the following letter, induced the writer to take the important step announced in the King's Speech.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, April 17, 1829.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I was unable to answer a letter which you wrote to me some time ago, which you sent me by Sir S. M.; but I was not the less sensible of your kindness. You will have seen what we have since done in the sense of what you recommended to me; and I trust that all that has passed will prove satisfactory to you, and will tend to give tranquillity and happiness to the land.

We have had a most severe Parliamentary campaign, which I have terminated with one of the epidemical colds of the season; this disables me from writing much. But I would not suffer this mail to go without writing you one line.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

In the midst of violent declamation on the Catholic Question, both in Parliament and out, the public was still further stirred by the announcement of a duel between the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Winchelsea. The Duke of Buckingham had written to the Duke of Wellington, and his very characteristic answer will not be read without interest :—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, April 21, 1829.

My dear Duke,

I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 6th, which I received this morning.

The truth is that the duel with Lord Winchelsea was as much part of the Roman Catholic question, and it was as necessary to undertake it, and carry it out to the extremity to which I did carry it, as it was to do everything else which I did do to attain the object which I had in view.

I was living here for some time in an atmosphere of calumny. I could do nothing that was not misrepresented, as having some bad purpose in view. If my physician called upon me, it was for treasonable purposes. If I said a word, whether in Parliament or elsewhere, it was misrepresented for the purpose of fixing upon me some gross delusion or falsehood. Even my conversations with the King were repeated, misrepresented, and commented upon; and all for the purpose of shaking the credit which the Parliament were inclined to give to what I said.

The courts of justice were shut, and not to open till May. I knew that the Bill must pass, or be lost, before the 15th of April.

In this state of things Lord Winchelsea published his furious letter. I immediately perceived the advantage it gave me; and I determined to act upon it in such a tone as would certainly put me in the right. Not only I was successful in the execution of my project, but the project itself produced the effect which I looked for, and intended that it should produce. The atmosphere of calumny in which I had been for some time living, cleared away. The system of calumny was discontinued. Men were ashamed of repeating what had been told to them; and I have reason to believe, moreover, that intentions not short of criminal were given up in consequence of remonstrances from some of the most prudent of the party, who came forward in consequence of the duel. I am afraid that the event itself shocked many good men; but I am certain that the public interests at the moment required that I should do what I did.

Everything is now quiet, and in Ireland we have full reason to be satisfied. We must, however, lose no time in doing everything else that is possible to promote the prosperity of that country.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

On the 10th of February, Mr. Peel, in the House of Commons, had brought in a Bill for suppressing dangerous associations and assemblies in Ireland. It was read a third time on the 16th, and a third time in the Lords on the 24th, without a division in either House. Mr. Peel also introduced to the House of Commons, on the 5th of March, the Government measure for removing

Catholic disabilities. The debate that followed was continued on the next day, when a division announced a majority in its favour of 188. The second reading was carried on the 19th by nearly as large a majority. On the 21st was fought at Battersea Fields the memorable duel, to which the former letter alluded. It arose out of a passage in a letter written by the Earl of Winchelsea to the secretary of the Committee for establishing King's College, insinuating a charge of duplicity against the Duke of Wellington in the following words:—"I was one of those who at first thought the proposed plan [of King's College] might be practicable, and prove an antidote to the principles of the London University. Late political events have convinced me that the whole transaction was intended as a blind to the Protestant and High Church party; that the noble Duke [Wellington], who had, for some time previous to that period, determined upon 'breaking in upon the Constitution of 1688,' might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State."

As soon as the Duke of Wellington became cognizant of this communication, he wrote to the Earl insisting that he should withdraw it. On the Earl refusing, a challenge was sent, and accepted; and

the Duke came to the ground attended by Sir Henry Hardinge; the Earl of Winchelsea by the Earl of Falmouth. The Duke fired without effect; the Earl first discharged his pistol in the air, and then tendered a written apology, which having been pronounced satisfactory, the parties left the ground.

After this interlude the Catholic Relief Bill proceeded in the Commons, but not without frequent divisions and some powerful arguments against it, till it was read a third time by a majority of 178, on the 27th of March. On the 31st, it was introduced to the House of Lords by the Duke of Wellington, and read a first time. On the 2nd of April there was a very animated debate on the subject in the same assembly, which lasted for three days, when the second reading passed by a majority of 105; and the third reading passed on the 10th of the same month by a majority of 104; not, however, without a strong protest from several Protestant peers.

On the 4th of May, the Marquis of Anglesey made an explanation in the House of Lords of the circumstances that occasioned his removal; which reflecting on the Duke of Wellington, elicited an immediate answer from his Grace defending himself somewhat at the expense of the noble Marquis. The Marquis of Anglesey had moved for certain papers and documents illustrating the transaction, but the motion was negatived without a division.

Nothing of importance occurred during the remaining Session of Parliament, except an attempt made by Mr. O'Connell to take his seat in the House of Commons, which the Speaker, by the rules of the House, prevented. On the 24th of June, Parliament was prorogued, on which day an announcement appeared in the "Gazette" which included Viscount Castlereagh[1] among the Lords of the Admiralty.

The King continued to live as secluded as possible at Windsor or at Brighton; but increasing infirmities, and a growing disinclination for ceremonies and receptions, had no doubt a great deal to do with it. His Majesty so rarely met the public gaze, that his birthday on the 12th of August was made memorable this year, in consequence of his laying the first stone for the pedestal of an equestrian statue of George the Third, intended to be raised on the summit of Snow Hill about two miles from Windsor Castle through the Long Walk.

The year proceeded towards its close, producing no particular event. Politics, from the Catholic fever, had calmed down wonderfully, except in a portion of the press, in which violent attacks on the Government continued to appear, or in the disturbed districts in Ireland where a chronic state of assassination and rebellion had long existed. At the beginning of November the Duke of Buckingham returned to England. He was welcomed back

[1] Present Marquis of Londonderry.

by his family and friends with the most gratifying earnestness.

RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Brunswick Terrace, Brighton, Nov. 6, 1829.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The moment of your return is not one of the least interest in point of public matters; but the horizon looks clearer than it did a month since, and I have little doubt but it will get brighter.

The King comes here on Tuesday. How long his Majesty remains I can't say, but think he will pass his Christmas at Windsor. Half the Whig Opposition (if anything can be called Opposition) are here. I hear from them and others, that Parliament will not meet till February.

Adieu, my dear Duke, with feelings of the sincerest joy on your safe return,

Believe me,

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

After his arrival, the Duke of Buckingham early in December invited the Duke of Wellington to pay him a visit, to which the latter sent the following reply. The subsequent letter refers to the great agitator in a characteristic strain.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, Dec. 4, 1829.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The King has fixed the Council for Monday, at Windsor Castle; and if you will give me leave I will go on to Stowe from thence. I do not know at what time the Council will be dismissed; and I am afraid that I shall not reach Stowe till a late hour. But I hope that you will not wait for me.

Believe me,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Apethorpe, Dec. 30, 1829.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I was very much obliged to you for your letter of the 29th December, which I did not acknowledge immediately, as I had already formed the same opinion as you have; and there was no step to be taken.

I do not think, however, that however bad O'Connell is, it is quite clear that he will not retain or regain his influence in Ireland. If he should be vulgar and violent in Parliament, nobody will listen to him after the first day, and he will lose his influence everywhere. But he is a very diligent and a very able lawyer, and a good debater; and if he should be only moderate in his language, and behave at all like a gentleman, he will be listened to, and his influence will be greater than ever. You may rely upon it that I will not knowingly lose one particle of the advantage acquired by the Roman Catholic measure. But I think that the Roman Catholics might have conducted themselves better than they have done.

I advised the English Roman Catholics, as far back as May last, to act exactly in conformity with the principle stated in your letter.

Believe me, my dear Duke,
Ever yours most sincerely,
WELLINGTON.

The close of the year was distinguished by a series of prosecutions against the Morning Journal newspaper, for libellous attacks upon his Majesty, the Houses of Parliament, the Duke of Wellington, and the Lord Chancellor. The defendants were found guilty on all the charges. Another information was laid against Mr. Robert Bell, the editor of the *Atlas*, for a libel upon the Lord Chancellor, in which a verdict of guilty was also recorded, attended with a recommendation to mercy. These may be regarded as the last indications of that violent effervescence that had been created by the extraordinary circumstances under which the Catholic Relief Bill had been brought before the Legislature, and made part of the law of the land. After these prosecutions, which led to the suppression of the Morning Journal, the duke was suffered to proceed on his administrative career, with a more subdued tone of opposition from his former friends and coadjutors, who had thus indignantly resented his change of opinion and opposition to the most cherished sentiments of his party.

CHAPTER XIII.

[1830.]

STATE OF ENFORCED QUIETUDE — DEATH OF MR. GEORGE TIERNEY — HIS POLITICAL CAREER — DEATH OF SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE — THE PARLIAMENTARY CAMPAIGN — REDUCTION OF TAXES — INCREASING INDISPOSITION OF THE KING — ATTENTION PAID TO THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF CLARENCE — COST OF IMPROVEMENTS AT WINDSOR CASTLE — MESSAGE FROM THE KING TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS, ANNOUNCING INCREASING INFIRMITIES — HIS MAJESTY CONTINUES TO GET WORSE — HIS LAST MOMENTS — HIS DEATH — OPINION OF SIR WALTER SCOTT — ESTIMATE OF HIS MERITS AS A SOVEREIGN.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE powerful influence of the Minister seemed now to pervade the country, and everything was subsiding into an enforced state of decorum. The members of the Government appeared to act with the stern attention of sentinels on duty, and the greater portion of the Opposition, as if awed by the position of their Ministerial opponents, forbore provocation, and kept their party tendencies under restraint. Affairs abroad wore a similar aspect; in various quarters peace had been restored by force, successful war having brought about pacificatory treaties. In this way the hostilities of Russia against the Sublime Porte, and of the latter against Greece, had ceased. Portugal, however, was an exception to this description, for the House of Braganza furnished the only belligerents in Europe.

In January death took away another distinguished statesman, in the person of the Right Hon. George Tierney, M.P. for Knaresborough, who died on the 25th, at the age of sixty-eight. He also was a veteran in the political arena, having commenced

his career in 1788 as M.P. for Colchester after a severe contest. In the following year there was a general election, and he was defeated in a second contest under circumstances so unwarrantable that he made it a subject of public complaint.[1] He now employed his pen, which he had previously exercised with considerable skill, on the affairs of the East India Company, and wrote two pamphlets which attracted so much attention that at the next general election 1796, he was invited to stand for Southwark free of expense, and after two violent contests, in both of which he was in a declared minority, he succeeded by petition in unseating his opponent, and in making valid his own return. Mr. Tierney took a prominent part in the great questions agitated at this period, till an expression incautiously used by the Minister in the heat of debate, for which he would not apologize, elicited a challenge, and they met at Putney Heath; Mr. Pitt accompanied by Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Tierney by Mr. George Walpole; the Speaker (Mr. Addington) and other friends of both parties being on the ground. Having fired without effect, the Minister discharged his second pistol in the air; the seconds then interfered, pronouncing that sufficient satisfaction had been given, and the principals went home uninjured.

[1] Two Letters addressed to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas and the Hon. Henry Hobart on the conduct adopted respecting the Colchester petition, 1791.

Under such circumstances Mr. Tierney became a marked man in the political world, was again elected for Southwark after a very sharp contest, and in 1803 was sworn of the Privy Council, having been appointed Treasurer of the Navy in Mr. Addington's Administration. Other employment was found for him in the somewhat curious appointment which he accepted of Lieutenant-colonel Commandant of the Somerset House Volunteers; the clerks of the Circumlocution Office of that day having become enrolled as a military corps. Another having been raised among his constituents, he also accepted that command, but in consequence of a misunderstanding resigned it in a few months. He retired from office when Mr. Addington went out in 1804, till September, 1806, when he was gazetted as President of the Board of Control in the Administration of Lord Grenville. When this terminated, he went into opposition; indeed, succeeded Mr. Ponsonby as its leader in the House of Commons till 1827, when he joined Mr. Canning's Government as Master of the Mint. He died suddenly of enlargement of the heart, before he had been three years in office, leaving a character for integrity, talent, and amiability, which few active politicians retain at the close of their career.

The month was also memorable for the death of another eminent man, though in a totally different sphere, belonging rather to the Court than to the State—Sir Thomas Lawrence. "Sir Henry Halford,"

writes an intimate friend, "saw him on Thursday at four o'clock in the afternoon with Dr. Holland; he was sitting up in an arm-chair at the foot of his bed. In the evening he sent for a young friend to read to him; this was about eight o'clock. The reading was one of the late Mr. Flaxman's lectures. After this had proceeded about half an hour, he suddenly exclaimed, 'Good God! I am very ill.' In half an hour he was dead."[1]

The fourth Session of the existing Parliament opened on the 4th of February by commission, with a Speech unusually brief and vague, expressing a little lamentation, and ending with much promise. In the House of Peers it was attacked by Lord Stanhope and Lord Carnarvon, for not being more explicit on the distresses of the country; but after the duke had replied, on a division against the Address, the opponents could not muster a larger minority than nine. In the Commons, a more spirited opposition to it displayed itself, the minority amounting to 105. Another discussion on the destitution of the working classes came on on the following day, when Lord Darlington brought up the Report to the Address; but an amendment having been moved in a small House, was only supported by 11 members.

Except a motion made by Mr. Peel in the Commons, on the 9th of February, for a Committee to inquire into the affairs of India, and a resolution

[1] Knighton's Memoirs, pp. 321.

moved by Lord Holland on the 12th, in the House of Peers respecting those of Greece, little of interest took place in either branch of the Legislature till the 18th, when the Marquis of Blandford brought forward a motion on Parliamentary Reform. A few days later Lord John Russell moved to bring in a Bill to transfer the elective franchise from boroughs convicted of corruption, to Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, which after a lively debate, on an amendment brought forward by Lord Sandon, was lost by a majority of 48.

In the House of Lords the Earl of Stanhope, on the 28th, introduced his motion for a Committee of Inquiry into the distressed state of the nation, which the Government opposed with all its available force, and it was lost by a large majority. The same subject was agitated in the other House on the 9th of March, but the motion was withdrawn. It was again discussed on the 16th in the Lower House, and in the Upper on the 18th; but in each instance the motion was lost by a considerable majority. Nothing further of consequence occurred till the adjournment for Easter, on the 26th of April. The Government, however, contemplated measures of utility and a reduction of the expenditure.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Monday.

I highly approve of the choice of taxes for reduction, but I am myself decidedly of opinion that the *rate* on many articles of consumption might be lowered, with a prospect of increase instead of loss to the revenue from the measure. And I think the system of raising 3,000,000*l.* on spirits one of the most injudicious that could have been devised, and this for the absurd purpose of having a nominal fund of 3,000,000*l.*, instead of 2,700,000*l.*

The increasing indisposition of the King[1] brought greater attention to the Duke and Duchess of Clarence, on which the same writer thus comments:—

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, April 30, 1830.

Certainly what we read and hear about the King affords small ground of hope. I think his loss a very great misfortune, and amongst other reasons not the least is, that it must induce a necessity for a Regency Bill.

Your account of the visits to Bushy is amusing enough; but I have seen too many instances of such barefaced and undisguised meanness, to be at all surprised at it. If our future Queen really is, as she is said to be, a woman of sense, what an opinion she must form of her visitors!

Ever yours, G.

[1] Sir William Knighton writes on the 19th of February that "his Majesty complained of his health. There was great irritability in his frame, which was also expressed in his manner."—*Memoirs*. Edited by his Widow, p. 328. Sir Henry Halford, nearly a month later, considered the King greatly improved. See letters from the Duke of Clarence. Ibid. 331.

On the resumption of the business of the Legislature, after the House of Commons had resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, on the 3rd of May, several members expressed great dissatisfaction at the increasing cost of the improvements that had long been going on at Windsor Castle, 900,000*l.* having already been expended, and 100,000*l.* additional demanded, without there appearing any limit to their ultimate cost. The opposition was so great that the Chancellor of the Exchequer withdrew the vote.

The critical state of the King was daily attracting more attention.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 7, 1830.

I believe the reports and bulletins about mitigated symptoms and the like, have reference to a quite distinct complaint in the bladder, to which unhappily he has long been liable, and from which a few days ago he suffered terribly, till he was relieved by drawing off the water, which was attended with some difficulty. I cannot think it possible to draw any inference from the bulletins than that which all the world seems to draw from them. In the actual state of things, the Duke of Wellington, if he is to remain, must naturally be very desirous of bringing on the dissolution at the very earliest moment that the state of the Treasury, as to money, can admit of. But what facilities he may find in that respect will necessarily depend on the precise period in which the question may be presented to him, and cannot well be anticipated at any distance of time at all considerable.

I look with much uneasiness to the Regency question, come when it may, and would not myself, on any account, do or say anything to bring it forward at any one period rather than another. Sufficient for the day, &c., &c.

On the 24th of May, the Duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, presented a message from his Majesty, announcing that it had become painful to him to affix his signature to the usual documents, and recommending the adoption of such measures as would enable him to dispense with writing it during his indisposition. In consequence a Sign-Manual Substitute Bill was passed through both Houses, and on the 31st Lord Farnborough, General Sir W. Keppel, and Major-General A. F. Barnard, were appointed Commissioners for affixing his Majesty's signature to all instruments that required it.

RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, Wednesday, 7 o'clock.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The Duke of Wellington was at Windsor this morning. The King directed his signature to be affixed to all the necessary deeds presented to him, but I *know* the Duke of Wellington did not report him as better, but still to be sinking, and rapidly so. The Duke of Clarence was also at Windsor, and gave the same report. He takes no food, and gradually weakens. . .

I am, most truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

The King's indisposition became more serious, notwithstanding the favourable assurances of his physicians. Sir William Knighton, who watched over his royal patron most affectionately, wrote on the 26th of April—"I am now writing in the room adjoining his Majesty's bed-chamber, for he does not like my being distant from him. We are not going on well: depend on it this will not do." The Duke of Cumberland, on the 1st of May, wrote to Sir William:—"I own the account of that last severe spasm of Wednesday evening has shaken my hopes much; and I cannot describe to you the anxiety of my mind." The Duke of Clarence, on that and the following day, expressed terms of equal anxiety, but with deeper affection—indeed, nearly all the members of the Royal Family communicated with Sir William their fears, and warmly expressed their sympathy.[1] On the 27th of May, Sir William wrote to Lady Knighton, "The King is particularly affectionate to me. His Majesty is gradually breaking down; but the time required (if it does not happen suddenly) to destroy his original fine constitution no one can calculate upon." We are assured that he took every opportunity of calling his Majesty's attention to religious subjects, and had even placed unordered a quarto Bible of large type on the dressing-table, with which act of attention the King was much

[1] The whole of this correspondence is preserved in the "Memoirs of Sir William Knighton."

pleased, and frequently referred to the sacred volume.[1]

A prayer was appointed for public use during the King's indisposition, which the Bishop of Chichester read to him. "With the King's permission," wrote this learned prelate, "I repeated it on my knees at his bedside. At the close of it his Majesty, having listened to it with the utmost attention, three times repeated 'Amen' with the greatest fervour and devotion. He expressed himself highly gratified with it, and desired me to convey his approbation of it to the Archbishop of Canterbury."[2]

Various accounts have been published of the behaviour of the King during this serious illness—one absurdly romantic, and all more or less imaginative; but we learn from a trustworthy authority that it was most exemplary. His Majesty was aware of his situation, and exerted himself as far as was possible to profit by the season of reflection and self-examination then afforded to him. We may be permitted to believe that he was earnest in his religious feelings; and has been allowed the benefit from them from which the humblest sinner is not excluded.

The reign of George the Fourth was now rapidly drawing to a close. The skill of men so eminent in their profession as Sir Henry Halford, Sir Mat-

[1] "Memoirs of Sir William Knighton," p. 352.
[2] Ibid. p. 354.

thew Tierney, and Mr. Brodie, could effect no relief —the lungs became congested, and the respiratory organs with difficulty performed their functions. His Majesty sank at last at three o'clock in the morning of 26th of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, after a reign of ten years and five months, or, including the Regency, of more than nineteen years. "I had hardly time," writes Sir William Knighton, "to get from my room, which is in the next tower to that occupied by the King, before his Majesty ceased to breathe; but I was present to witness the last sigh. His Majesty died without any apparent pain or struggle."[1]

Thus calmly passed from the world a monarch, whom those who enjoyed the best opportunities of knowing intimately, pronounced the kindest of friends and most affectionate of masters. Sir Walter Scott, shortly after the event, expressed the following opinion:—"I trouble you with this intrusion to express my deep sorrow for the loss of a sovereign whose gentle and generous disposition, and singular [kind] manner and captivating conversation, rendered him as much the darling of private society, as his heartfelt interest in the general welfare of the country, and the constant and steady course of wise measures by which he raised his reign to such a state of triumphal prosperity, made him justly delighted in by his subjects."[2]

Estimates of his Majesty's character have been

[1] "Knighton's Memoirs," p. 354.

[2] Ibid. p. 359.

formed by persons who never received favours at his hands, or could have been influenced by the sunshine of the royal countenance; and they, as might be anticipated, are of a totally different complexion. But there can be no use now in dwelling on his failings.

The nation had possessed in their sovereigns no such patron of art since Charles the First. Charles the Second, James the Second, and his daughters Mary and Anne, exhibited no similar interest in pursuits purely intellectual and refined, and were wanting in the taste that should have directed it. William the Third pretended to nothing of the kind; and this deficiency was equally evident in his successors, George the First and Second. The taste of George the Third was too simple to effect much good in this direction; but we must not forget, in forming our estimate of his judgment as exhibited by his partiality for the large pictures of West, that in his reign, and partly under his auspices, painting in this country awoke from a sleep of two centuries, in the establishment of the Royal Academy. The patronage of his heir was of a much more earnest character, and the interest he felt in art, as genuine as it was profound. It was displayed almost as soon as he had power to render it beneficial. While forming a collection of the great masters of painting, when Prince of Wales, he said, "We have lost the magnificent collection of Charles the First; I will do what I can to supply its place." And when he

had succeeded in getting together a series of *chef-d'œuvres*, of which any sovereign might be proud, he is said to have observed, "I have not formed it for my own pleasure alone, but to gratify the public taste, and lay before the artist the best specimens for his study."

This enlightened and patriotic resolution he fulfilled, by exhibiting these fine pictures for two successive seasons, in the galleries of the British Institution in Pall Mall: an institution he had assisted in establishing for the advancement of native art, and had liberally supported. With the same enlightened judgment he encouraged the plan, and materially assisted in founding the National Gallery, which, from its modest commencement under his auspices, is rapidly becoming one of the richest collections of paintings in the world. But while thus carefully setting before his countrymen the best models that could be procured, he was very far from being indifferent to the productions of the real artists amongst them. His munificent patronage of Lawrence, Wilkie, and other English painters; of Chantrey, Westmacott, and other English sculptors; of Nash, Soane, and other English architects, shows how genuine and how active was the interest he felt for each department of art. Great advances may have been made in taste and judgment since the decease of George the Fourth, but it is doubtful whether such could have been effected without the impulse originally given by the patronage of

this munificent prince. It would not be difficult to bring forward many instances in which his Majesty's love of art was manifested in a manner which proved that the Graces deserved their Greek appellation. One or two may suffice. Having become aware that a celebrated enamel painter had died, leaving his widow impoverished, he immediately sent 1500*l.* for one of the deceased artist's copies. He caused, at his own expense, a monument to be erected at St. Germains to the memory of James the Second; and having made comfortable the last years of the last of the Stuarts, Cardinal York, at his decease he commissioned Canova, to whom he was a liberal patron, to carve a mausoleum to his memory. An interesting proof of the disinterestedness of his love of art may be found in the fact of his carefully causing the unrivalled statue of the Apollo Belvidere, which had been placed at his disposal, to be conveyed, on the restoration of the treasures of the Louvre, to the gallery from which it had been plundered. He also contributed 500*l.* towards a monument proposed to be erected to do honour to our great mechanical genius, James Watt.

His Majesty's patronage of literature was bestowed in the same enlightened and princely spirit. In the year 1800, he sent the Rev. Mr. Hayter to Naples to facilitate the unrolling and transcribing certain rolls of papyri that had been discovered whilst making excavations in the ruins of Hercu-

laneum and Pompeii, and presented four of these MSS. to the University of Oxford. That admirable institution, The Literary Fund, was established under his auspices, and supported by him with an annual grant of 200 guineas. Since his Majesty's demise only one-half of this sum has been bestowed by the Crown. He took a lively interest in establishing the Royal Society of Literature, which he endowed with an annual fund of 1100 guineas, for distribution amongst meritorious authors; the grant has been entirely withdrawn since his decease. In 1823, he sanctioned the reprint of a series of our ancient historians, and in 1825, placed at the disposal of the Royal Society two gold medals to further their labours for the advancement of science; and, lastly, he presented to the British Museum the fine library of George III. —upwards of eighty-five thousand volumes of well-selected works—as a free gift to the nation.

The important precedent George IV. established, by the dignity he bestowed on Walter Scott, deserves to be regarded as one of the most valuable of the benefits his Majesty conferred on English literature; nor ought to be forgotten the readiness with which he responded to Sir Walter's appeal in behalf of his Edinburgh publisher, when the latter was engaged in making a great effort to bring good books within the reach of thousands to whom they had hitherto been inaccessible in consequence of the high price at which they were published. To the

success of Constable's "Miscellany" the public are indebted for the various enterprises of the same nature which followed, and for the facilities now afforded to the humblest student for cultivating his taste and increasing his knowledge.

These are services to his country which ought to neutralize grave faults; but the name of George IV. cannot be dismissed without recalling the long struggle that continued through the greater part of his career, in which the nation came out gloriously—a result fairly to be attributed to his steady support of Lord Castlereagh, who directed the foreign policy of the kingdom, and of the Duke of Wellington, who, instructed by this accomplished Minister, succeeded in bringing an almost desperate contest to a fortunate issue.

THE END.

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